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ABSTRACT

Two 1976 workshops (Seoul, Korea--June 6-13; Tugu, Bogor, Indonesia--November 7-14) in the Integral Rural Development series had as their objectives to: study the role of training in and value of an integrated rural development approach; exchange experiences on the impact of new agricultural technology upon institutions and people at the village level; and exchange experiences on training philosophies useful for building self-reliant rural communities. The workshops focused on man and woman as the central concern of rural development. What are the "concepts" by which rural people view their reality and express their will to enter development processes as equals? What "creative" capabilities reside in rural men and women for the humanization of their lives? What economic, political, social and cultural "structures" facilitate or constrain the thrust of rural communities for integral human development? How can development efforts bring "wholeness" to rural life, long broken up both from within itself and from the outside by exploitative and oppressive forces? These four main topics were addressed through orientations, workshop discussions, reflections, and proposed actions. Theodor Dams' position paper, "Rural Development: Marketing of Agricultural Products", is included in the report, as well as appendixes dealing with case study outlines and listing the participants of both conferences. (BR)

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DIALOGUE WITH ASIA'S RURAL MAN

A Workshop Report

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dialogue with asia's rural man

number 2

by Antonio L. Ledesma
Angelita Yap-Ledesma

A Report
of the 1976 CENDHRRA Integral
Rural Development Workshops held in
Korea, June 6-13, 1976 and
Indonesia, November 7-14, 1976.

CENDHRRA
Centre for the Development of Human Resources in Rural Asia
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CENDHRRA
Centre for the Development of Human Resources in Rural Asia

The Centre for the Development of Human Resources in Rural Asia (CENDHRRA) is a regional secretariate working in Asia and the Pacific. Its main purpose is to promote dialogue and linkages among persons, institutions and organizations concerned with integral human development. Its chief aim is to serve Asian rural groups, both public and private, through information-sharing, evaluative studies and consulting services. The ultimate focus of CENDHRRA's activities is the rural poor whose needs guide the Centre's work and priorities.

CENDHRRA was founded in 1975 as a private, nonprofit organization duly incorporated under the laws of its host country, the Philippines. It is nondenominational and open to all the major cultures and religions of Asia and the Pacific.

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INTRODUCTION

This is the report of the 1976 workshops under the CENDHRRA Integral Rural Development (CIRD) series. The first one was held at the Cooperative Education Institute (its co-sponsor), Seoul, Korea from June 6-13, 1976. Its objectives were:

(1) to study the value of the "Integrated Rural Development" approach;
(2) to exchange experiences on the impact of new agricultural technology upon institutions and people at the village level.

The second CIRD workshop was held in Tugu, Bogor, Indonesia from November 7-14, 1976 with the Indonesia Development of Human Resources in Rural Areas (INDHRRA) as co-sponsor. Its objectives were:

(1) to study the role of training in an integral rural development approach;
(2) to exchange experiences on training philosophies and methods useful for building self-reliant rural communities.

This report, known as **Dialogue with Asia's Rural Man** — no. 2*, presents summaries of discussions and papers at the CIRD 1 and 2 workshops. It is an attempt to reflect on the ideas and experiences that were shared in the CIRD '76 workshops and to open them up for future reflection and study.

The outline of the report is based on the workshops' focus on man and woman as the central concern of rural development. What are the **concepts** by which rural people view their reality and express their will to enter development processes as equals? What **creative** capabilities reside in rural men and women for the humanization of their lives? What economic, political, social and cultural **structures** facilitate or constrain the thrust of rural communities for integral human development? How can development efforts bring **wholeness** to rural life, long broken up both from within itself and from the outside by exploitative and oppressive forces?

The affirmation of people's **concepts** in unfolding their reality, the growth of their **creativity** to humanize their existence, the transformation of alienating **structures** that hinder **wholeness** among human relationships and communities — these are essential aspects for attaining whatever is meant by integral human development.

*_Dialogue with Asia's Rural Man_ — no. 1 was published in 1975 and covered the proceedings of the Development of Human Resources in Rural Asia Workshop (DHRRAW) held in Swanganivas, Thailand (August 4-25, 1974).

This report, therefore, is not merely a record of the past. It is not simply a collection of speeches and case studies which would not adequately represent the spontaneity and variety of discussions on issues that arose at both workshops. It represents the continuing dialogue kept alive by men and women united in a common vision and faith — to make life whole and human.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The preparation of the workshops and of this report brought together many individuals of various countries whose efforts complemented and reinforced one another. Theirs was the humility to listen and meet others in a common search to discover the human elements of development. Theirs was the personal commitment to participate as co-agents in their fellowman's struggle to escape dehumanizing systems and to create a new world of greater awareness, greater joy, greater love. We are, therefore, deeply grateful to these friends: —

- To the co-sponsors, the Cooperative Education Institute (Seoul, Korea): Park Hee Sup, Park Sung Ho, Song Vo Kyung, Park Yong-Duk; and INDHRRA (Jakarta, Indonesia): Bambang Ismawan, Wisnu Djatikusumo, W. Napitupulu.
- To the Organizing Committees of Korea: Augustine J.R. Kang, Kwak Jaeki, Cheong Chija Kim; and of Indonesia: George Adicondro, Thaharuddin Hutasuhut, Karl Albrecht, Soetomo, Em. Haryadi, Harsosoewignya, Kristiyono, Sutjyanto.
- To the national DHRRAW committees who selected the participants.
- To SELA and its secretary: John Dijkstra.
- To the resource persons: Theodor Dams, Jesus Montemayor, Christera Sri Rudati, Sarino Mangunpranoto, Margono Slamet.
- To our principal donor: the people of the Federal Republic of Germany.
- To MISEREOR
- To Ambassador Leticia Ramos-Shahani of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Philippine government.
- To our staff: Evelyn T. Deles, Cristina Liamzon, Rebecca Tañada, Dennis Albano.
- To our 88 participants from seven Asian and Pacific countries whose work ranged from academic research to operational projects.

These are the friends who, with others whose names remain unmentioned but whose behind-the-scenes support was invaluable, helped us to articulate the rich reality of integral humanness. **Maraming Salamat.**

1. CONCEPTS

Just because we are poor,
they think we think poorly.

—Detained slum dweller

Man's thinking lifts him out of the comfortable realm of nature where things proceed as a matter of course. It makes him a person weighed down by the need to decide. Man is a being who must himself determine what he will do with his life, how he will relate himself to all that surrounds him. He is literally compelled by his freedom to take a personal stand on everything and be responsible for the stand he takes.

—Robert O. Johann

I
ORIENTATION

This section introduces the importance of concepts towards the understanding and direction of development activities. While noting the difficulty of talking about abstractions with persons engaged in practical work, it argues for the usefulness of concepts based on concrete experiences and of concrete experiences that are organized around concepts.

The Value of Concepts

Development needs concepts. To define their basic orientation, development programs need consensus on what concepts to use. To understand the causes of problems requires a mental effort to find concepts that will make sense out of separate facts. To bring about a community of persons who share a common view of development, acceptable unifying concepts must be formulated. The metaphor of a map has sometimes been used to describe concepts because they are like guides for action. Some concepts are like maps which represent beliefs and values that help guide local interactions.

What happens to development efforts that ignore the help of conceptual maps? One result is the inability to understand the relationship between today's activity and yesterday's. There are no guidelines to introduce order among separate experiences. Soon the accumulated mass of activities becomes overwhelming because

there is no way to group them meaningfully. Mistakes are repeated with helpless regularity because activities cannot be reorganized to free them towards a new direction. Eventually, development without concepts reaches a dead end; it becomes static, frozen and dense.

Yet, it is not easy to discuss concepts with practical-minded people. They are impatient with concepts talk, believing that it can only lead to abstract theories. Theories are produced by scholars who have never dirtied their hands in practical work. Theories and concepts do not solve poverty, illness, hunger.

It becomes important for the integration between concepts and practice that they converge on real experiences. Concepts must not float in clouds of abstract ideas. They must be grounded on and be tested by concrete situations. On the other hand, practical work must not flit from activity to activity. They need the order and direction provided by guiding concepts.

II
WORKSHOP DISCUSSIONS

This section presents the discussions that took place during the CIRD '76 workshops regarding the concepts of (1) integrated rural development and (2) human development. Participants felt that it was vital for them to arrive at commonly held definitions of these key concepts.

Human Development

"Everyone talks about human development; but can we, at this workshop, come to some understanding of what we mean by it?" This feeling was voiced at the very beginning of both workshops. But attempts to give a clear definition acceptable to all ended in frustration. It was sometimes easier to state what one did *not* mean by human development. When explaining what one really meant by the term, it proved easier to give examples, a brief story or a case study meant to illustrate human development.

As might be expected from the composition of the participants, the definitions given about human development avoided equating it with mere material progress and technological achievements. The need to promote economic growth and to establish industrial institutions was recognized, yet the appropriate questions asked were: "What effect will an expanding economy and advanced technology have on human values? Will economic growth serve human ends? Will bureaucratic solutions to the social problems of slums, population, unemployment lead to bettering individual rights and freedom?

The definitions offered showed a strong tendency towards moral judgments based on the strategy of humanizing technology. Human values must not be subordinated to the economic processes of the consumer society. Bureaucratic administration must provide for real participation in decision making by those for whom planning is being done. The distribution of economic and social benefits must be based on social justice and not on elitist power. The desirable human qualities were unselfishness, a spirit of sacrifice, justice, cooperation, harmonious human relations, solidarity, religiosity.

Integrated Rural Development

Early descriptions of the CIRD workshops placed them under the theme of an *integrated* approach to rural development. It was at a time when the new rhetoric of development made the "integrated approach" fashionable. Integration was seen as the solution to past fragmentations and piecemeal approaches to rural progress. The major obstacles to integration were in the duplication of services among groups unwilling to cooperate in complementary programs; in the lack of an overall view of the rural situation; in artificial barriers put between agricultural extension, marketing services, training programs and credit systems. The integrated scheme was seen as correcting this one-eyed approach by linking together interdependent agencies and programs. The provision of goods, services and information would be properly timed and coordinated.

The CIRD '76 participants were not comfortable with the term *integrated*. Instead, they proposed *integral* as a more adequate word to describe the guiding theme of their workshops. They had no quarrels with the objectives of the integrated approach; but in their experience, this strategy relied too much on bureaucratic controls that were not always sympathetic to people's participation in the planning and implementation stages. Moreover, integration sometimes led to massive programs that came under political pressures to produce results in a brief period of time. This led to greater centralization, more impatient top-down directives, less initiatives from below.

On the other hand, the term *integral* was a better reflection of what they meant by an approach that supported human development values. Integrated strategies paid too much attention to outside structures, to bureaucratic initiatives, to political directives — to the outer shell of development. The integral approach looks within, into the inner creative impulses of the individual and his community. Its aim is to give life, vision and soul to the organs and apparatuses of an integrated program. The image of an integral approach is that of a living organism born from rootedness within people's lives and values.

III
REFLECTIONS

This section gathers together the reflections regarding the workshop discussions that touched on (a) the value of concepts in development work; (b) the meanings of human development and of the integrated and integral approaches. The sources of these reflections come from the participants, observers and resource persons, as well as from the editors of this report.

The Value of Concepts

CIRD workshops are a search not only for practical programs but for guiding concepts in development. But only those concepts are valuable that are rooted in the people's culture. There is vagueness and remoteness of communication when Asians speak, not in their native language, but in a foreign tongue — in English as in the case of CIRD workshops. The listeners are left uncertain as to whether understanding is reached in discussions on concepts expressed in English. It might be more fruitful if each participant were encouraged to present native concepts on development, give examples and specify the situtations in which they are correctly applied. For CIRD, there still remains the problem of discovering basic concepts which embody local values regarding development and the task of translating them so that their deepest meanings are not lost.

The Meaning of Human Development

The village community has become the field of confrontation between the traditional and the modern, the ethical and the secular. Within its boundaries there appear new pressures that relationships be based more on performance rather than on kinship. Challenges to ancient cults and practices lessen group solidarity and offer increased material rewards to a few. In the midst of these confrontations and challenges, what do peasants think of human development?

The workshops' documents do not adequately provide an answer to this question. The viewpoints exchanged still seemed to lean heavily on the perceptions of the outsider, the administrator, the agency's development workers. This lack is not surprising. It is only after living in a rural community for long periods of time and only after the villager's trust has been gained, can the outsider's ears begin to tune in to the aspirations of rural peoples. Only then can his mind begin to comprehend the enormity of the people's struggle against poverty.

There is much common sense among illiterate rural people that can amaze university people. There is a readiness for new concepts and ways among villagers which change agents have yet to discover. Quick surveys and research studies have failed to uncover what people really think and value. This discovery becomes the responsibility of persons like CENDHRRA's partners, many of whom have spent years in village work — to discover their people's way of looking at development and to share these insights with others. For this, they need a deep faith in the creative potentialities of human beings.

Integrated versus Integral

Development theory is again at a time of beginning and endings. Theorists are retreating once more to their studies to find out what happened to plans meant to solve poverty but which resulted in even greater inequalities in the distribution of wealth and income. Take the case of integrated rural development. As theory, it has much substance — it was meant to solve the trial-and-error, piecemeal approach of the past 20 years. The focus would be on linkages, new groupings, greater political and administrative control within the broader framework of national objectives.

But theories, alas, do not remain in the sanitary conditions of a laboratory. They fall on the lap of reality, on a given social political structure. In the developing world, the IRD formula was channeled through some political structures that are maintained through the exercise of authoritarian centralization, the controlled flow of information and the denial of people's participation. Enmeshed within this political framework, the tendency is for IRD to become another rationalization for bigger bureaucracies, for new channels for corruption and for the international reinforcement of local authoritarian instruments that control, manipulate and marginalize the people.

It is ironic that some international agencies whose pronouncements are full of support for people's participation and power, contradict their rhetoric by channeling their funds and expertise mainly through political frameworks with a proven propensity for denying people their legitimate power and participation.

Simplistic Concepts

Who adopts simplistic concepts — is it the outside experts or the peasants? The usual answer is to point to uneducated peasants as the ones mainly addicted to black-and-white approaches. Yet, the landscape of rural development is strewn with the wreckage of projects planned and managed by experts. Many rural projects were based on models taken from foreign situations. Data gathered by experts often exclude the knowledge of farmers regarding local constraints and capabilities. There is little feedback from small

farmers to the project staff. Furthermore, some experts have tended to identify their results exclusively on quantifiable indicators which exclude the broader concepts of increased self-help capabilities, the acquisition of new agricultural knowledge, the promotion of self-reliance attitudes.

On the other hand, persons who have won the trust of farmers and gained entry into their thinking processes have noted the rationality and complexity of their grasp of rural conditions. Farmers bring past experiences in considering new approaches. They evaluate the impact of new techniques on their economic and social security. Their calculation of services being offered covers far more than the size of the net income they might gain. The retaliatory measures of the landlord, the under-the-table expectations of the government agent, the sensitivities of the paternalistic donor — all these are part of the decision-making calculus of the small farmer. One who is at the subsistence level cannot afford to adopt simplistic solutions.

The Power of Concepts

The creator of concepts acquires power over objects. To name a thing or situation is in some ways to control it. In ancient religions, the act of naming is a prerogative of the gods. Therefore, the propensity of experts to give labels and to make them stick. If one keeps naming a group of people as "underdeveloped" it becomes possible that the people themselves will eventually believe in their intrinsic inferiority compared to the "developed." If the agents of change keep drumming the need for "self-reliance" the attitude might subtly be promoted that the poor have been incapable of harnessing their talents and resources in the face of great odds. But the poor have survived for centuries despite overwhelming obstacles. If urban trainors keep lecturing about the need for "consciousness-raising," the unschooled farmer might begin to equate a high level of consciousness with higher education.

The act of creating concepts must again be returned to the poor themselves. The power of naming their economic, social, political and cultural realities belongs primarily to the peasantry. To rely on imported concepts to describe rural realities is to imprison one's self to outside formulas. For, to every concept there is tied a supportive apparatus of implementing programs. If, for example, one accepts the concept of peasant irrationality, then, the logical program to follow is one that is based on top-down planning and essentially technocratic. But if the creativity and potential of the poor are tapped and their concepts given a hearing, the programs for implementation will be characterized by higher participation and shifts of decision-making power away from the elites.

IV
ACTION

This section examines how the previous discussion and reflection parts of the workshop can be transformed into *action*. It describes local publications connected with some CIRD participants, whose objective is to reflect the point of view of rural peoples. The possible follow-up services that CENDHRRA can give in supporting information exchange programs among its network is also explored here.

Peoples' Publications

There is great need for concepts that have been tested, shared and refined on Asian soil. This process calls for dialogue at all levels; but it must start in the village between farmer and farmer, villager and villager. Few publications exist that catch the ideas, the feelings, the hopes and fears at this fundamental human level.

Within the CENDHRRA network, there are those concerned to make village realities known. The Yayasan Indonesia Sejahtera of Solo, Indonesia publishes in English a quarterly called *Vibro*. It is an excellent example of a publication's concern to base its articles on grassroots experiences. Its editors are Ir. Soetrisno, Dr. Sugiharto and Ms. Johnston. The Usaha Bersama farmers movement has a monthly newsletter called *Setia Kawan*, published in Indonesian from its Jakarta office. Its articles are aptly illustrated to show how farmers and fishermen react to training programs. Another Indonesian publication is the *Bina Desa*, published every other month by the Indonesian Development of Human Resources in Rural Areas (INDHRRA). It gets its articles from a broad range of Muslim, Christian and private peasant groups. Among its editors and contributors are Bambang Ismawan, Wisnu Djatikusumo, George Adicondro.

The Rural Development Laboratory of Seoul National University's College of Agriculture publishes a monthly newsletter in Korean. It reports on the rural experiences of its teaching staff and extension workers in the training and organization of farmers from four villages. Among its contributors are Dr. Ji Woong Cheong and Sun Yo Kim. The Korean Catholic Farmers' Movement occasionally publishes a newsletter for its farmer audience. Its leadership formation programs are supplied with study guides and survey reports on topics like the production cost of rice and tenancy conditions. Such studies have been of service to the government in understanding farmer reactions to national programs.

The Manabo Irrigation Project of Abra, Philippines comes out monthly with a local newspaper called *Panagtitinnulong* (Cooperation). Its articles, partly in English, describe the continuing educational activities among the 1000 farmers tilling the 2,000 hectares covered by the project. The coordinator is Fr. Eugen Reinhardt.

Network Communication Service

These are some of the serious though humble efforts being made to bring Asian concepts into developmental thinking. We are sure there are other publications not known to us. All these efforts need continual support. The insights and reflections printed by them often have a very limited readership. CENDHRRA, through its own publications, tries to help in the wider circulation of their ideas. It helps them analyze their experiences, bringing these back for integration into village living.

But this process cannot succeed without the cooperation of our partners. There is need to increase the exchange of concepts and experiences between Asian and Asian, between Asia and the West. The proper base for such a dynamic initiative can only come from grassroots organizations who are bound together by a living, ongoing communications system. The beginning of such a communication system for the exchange of experiences lived by Asians, seen and interpreted through Asian minds and spirit has already come into existence through the decision to establish CENDHRRA. It is the responsibility of its partners to help CENDHRRA serve better in the formation and communication of Asian concepts.

2. CREATIVITY

The danger of the past was that men became slaves.
The danger of the future is that men may become robots.

—Erich Fromm

We call you to join man's race to maturity, to work with us in inventing the future. We believe that a human adventure is just beginning: that mankind has so far been restricted in developing its creative powers because it was overwhelmed by toil. Now we are free to be as human as we will.

—Ivan D. Illich

I
ORIENTATION

The rural scene has often been described as uncreative. Peasants are said to be gripped by irresistible fate; their rural lives have very limited range of stimuli. The people who work among them have also lacked the means and motivation to be creative. This section introduces a discussion on whether in fact the rural scene is inhospitable to the creative spirit.

One-track Approaches

Great complexity is a characteristic of rural development work. New problems keep coming up which were not foreseen. Many experts, many studies, many agencies have spent millions looking for solutions. But what works now does not always seem to work tomorrow. What succeeds in one model project becomes a failure in a neighboring area.

Because there are too many unknowns and surprises, there is no single approach that can cover all the possibilities in development work. The fieldworker trained in one approach, the technologist wedded to one method, the agency whose resources have been put in one packaged program — these soon discover that the fluidity, variety and complexity of rural problems cannot be adequately met by one-track approaches.

Who is Creative?

Only creative persons can handle complex situations. They are not easily confused by variety. Surprises do not paralyze them and they see challenges where the one-track mind sees only frustrations. Creativity does not view life through fixed concepts which divide reality into black-white, good-bad, right-wrong, success-failure perspectives. It is at home in the gray areas of ambiguity where no absolute formulas prevail, no domineering ideology rules, no authoritarian master dictates.

Man's life becomes a creative process when he struggles to transform it into a state more fully expressive of his uniqueness as a person. Authoritarian structures which put man in routines where he need not think nor decide will only produce robots. It is only in a situation of freedom that man awakens to creative possibilities for achieving a more human world.

II
WORKSHOP DISCUSSIONS

This section describes topics related to creativity that were discussed at the CIRD '76 workshops. What types of decision-making processes tend to liberate or imprison the creative impulse? What kinds of relationships between superiors and subordinates reduce men to submission or raise them up to a life of responsibility and maturity?

Concepts Need Interaction

Development concepts should not be studied separately. They are part of a context of economic, social and political processes that must be taken into account. The lessening of rural poverty through, for example, the introduction of new technology needs the study likewise of the area's distribution of landholdings, of income and social power. This approach of studying the key factors related to a problem does justice to the reality of farmers who daily face, not isolated problems, but a complex situation demanding simultaneous attention.

At the CIRD 1 workshop, participants did not simply isolate agricultural technology from other factors. It was studied in connection with its effects on rural structures and on the people themselves. At CIRD 2, where the focus was on the educational and training aspects of human resources, the participants did not focus only on curricular matters. Instead, they chose to relate the training of villagers with the promotion of self-reliant communities and with supporting the efforts of the poorest of the poor in improving the quality of their life.

Power Destroys Creativity

The creative person is often in the middle of actions meant to transform situations. Action for development can start from the top, from the bottom or from those who are in the middle as bridgers. Many felt that if action comes only from the top, people eventually become passive and defensive in order to protect themselves. Those who are continually at the receiving end of orders and decrees from authorities, soon become clever in hiding their talents. Farmers hide their capabilities and watch from afar while the know-it-all agents work desperately. In their frustration, the authorities blame failures on the stupidity, laziness and stubborn habits of rural people.

The CIRD participants, like others in development work, prefer action to come from below. But this is a difficult concept to realize. Some feared that to push this idea superficially or prematurely could lead to frustration and violence. A superficial approach would be to raise people's expectations of success, when in fact, structural obstacles remain untouched. A premature approach would be to push people towards new responsibilities while neglecting their education.

It became clearer in the Indonesian workshop what the participants meant by people's actions. It was not a call for immediate mass action. People's action meant something more fundamental. It stood for ordinary acts like being able to say what one thought, being listened to, the act of gathering neighbors together. There were actions related to being a farmer, to exercising the rights and responsibilities of farmer-hood. Rural people cannot understand why businessmen and doctors can freely organize themselves into professional groups while farmer gatherings are viewed with suspicion. The simple human acts of speaking seriously about farming problems become a frustrating activity when outside technicians do not listen to "uneducated" farmers. When human acts are stopped, machinelike motions take over as the safe way of doing things.

What happens when action comes from the middle, from those whose work is to serve as catalysts of interaction between top and bottom? Change agents often consider themselves as catalysts. In its physical meaning, a catalyst is the chemical agent whose presence is needed in order that two or more chemicals interact. In the course of the interaction, the catalyst remains unchanged. But in development work it is not likely that the change agent, as catalyst, can remain unchanged, detached and completely objective. Sooner or later, he will take sides; he can change from being a representative of the poor to a defender of the top. He can become the "middleman" who makes it very difficult for the top

administrators to know what is really going on below. He can also make it very expensive for those below to have their views reach the top. The change agent who elects to serve the interests of the bureaucracy is transformed into a salesman reciting fixed formulas. Creativity dies within him and around him.

The Challenge of Tradition

The conservatism of rural traditions is like the ancient walls built around palaces — they keep the outside world away and preserve the hard-earned treasures within. CIRD '76 looked on tradition sometimes as an obstacle to progress, sometimes as the foundation for change.

The concept that man has to live in harmony with nature is part of the Indonesian farmer's mentality. He extends this idea to include harmony within his community. The Indonesian farmer, observed Bambang Ismawan, believes that he does not stand alone, especially in times of trouble. His neighbor is bound to help him, thus assuring his security. In turn, he must strictly maintain good relations with his community whose members are entitled to share in his good fortune. This concept is known to Indonesians as *gotong royong*. For those who live so close to the margin of survival, *gotong royong* offers mutual help, security, a strong sense of social obligation. But it also leads to conformism where, the striving individual who succeeds, avoids becoming the target of suspicion and resentment by submerging his talents and hiding any manifestations of success.

Fr. Eugen Reinhardt described how the Philippine tradition of *bayanihan* brought a farmer community together. The Manabo Irrigation Project in Abra province, Philippines, had 800 men working on its construction of cemented spillways, aqueducts, bridges — a combined length of almost 700 meters. The community also donated land for access roads and the rights-of-way for the main canal. About forty kilometers of lateral canals were dug free by the people as their counterpart to the project.

Among the Bidayuhs of Sarawak, Malaysia, the tradition of community help shows itself in common work during the planting and harvesting of rice, building longhouses, footpaths, bridges. Francisca Chai described in CIRD 1 how the Bidayuh farmer is helped by his community when his harvest is poor. He is offered rice and in exchange is expected to put in reasonable work for the community. The women do not play a direct role in major decisions though they may contribute ideas through their menfolk. The elders continue to insist on rigid conformity to the *adat* (customs and traditions) especially in matters of religion, marriage and funeral rites.

Paternalism

A tradition that eventually prevents creative action is paternalism. It is characterized by long dependency of inferiors to their superiors. In the eyes of the parent, children never grow into being adults. In the eyes of the leader, inferiors cannot be trusted to assume higher responsibility. Paternalism makes possible autocracy, exploitation and inequality. It defeats many creative actions that could have promoted maturity in development work.

The CIRD participants mentioned the various ways paternalism prevented new ideas, new energies from entering village life. Catalino Sam explained the power of the Micronesian chief to exact tribute of yams, pigs, cassava from the people. This custom prevents the planting of vegetables and fruits which are not part of the traditional presents to the chief. But the tradition of paying tribute to a chief can also be the foundation for change. Mr. Sam gives the example of a chief who asked the people to include other crops among their offerings, thereby encouraging the introduction of a richer diet among the people. It was questioned, however, whether such changes, coming mainly from the authoritarian will of a leader can lead to basic human development.

Pipat Chaisurine noted that one of the strongest traditions in Chiengrai, Thailand is respect for the elder and his control over decisions. The hierarchy of subservience includes the educated over the unschooled, men over women, Thai over hilltribe people, the rich over the poor. But he noted that while in the past the parents alone decided the education and occupation of their children, now there seems to be more democratic discussions with all members of the family.

Paternalism also infects urban-rural relations. Many rural development agencies feel obliged to invite urban businessmen, retired military men, ecumenical church leaders and politicians into their board of trustees. Their big names help assure occasional funding, protection in dangerous rural areas, the blessing of church leaders. They are tempted to become overnight experts on rural matters and their policies greatly determine what the fieldworkers will do. A relationship of dependence becomes established between the board and the agency's staff. This dependency can make the more creative workers feel they are not being listened to, that their opinions do not count. Eventually, the organization is left with mediocre personnel whose chief characteristic is not to displease superiors on whom they depend for ideas, wages, tenure.

Rural development groups are often started by strong-willed, dynamic founders. These pioneers had to overcome criticisms, disappointments, failures that would have brought the collapse of weaker personalities. Eventually success crowns their efforts;

awards and recognition come to their door. But the years of fighting to survive have left their mark. It is not easy to trust those who have not suffered through the "long march." The founder resembles an embattled fortress defending himself from year to year against untested newcomers. Humble lieutenants protect him from the sharp arrows of criticism and change. When the founder is gone, the organization finds itself bankrupt of leadership — all the children have remained children under the overdrawn tutelage of the parent.

Politicians often mix up paternalistic behavior with development work. Back in 1964, the *Ikatan Petani Pancasila* of Indonesia became a mass organization with representatives in parliament. This political connection helped the farmers in legal issues, but their socio-economic development did not improve. The concrete, daily problems of farmers were more often put aside in favor of political programs to obtain national prestige. It took a change of political orientation to give back to IPP its original commitment of service to the basic problems of villages.

The creative principle in men and women is like a young plant. Given proper soil, air and light it will naturally develop into a strong tree. It used to be written that the farmer and his culture of poverty were chained by oppressive habits and traditions. What is not always admitted is that some of the new organizations designed by urban policy-makers, experts, technocrats in order to lessen rural poverty have themselves added to the weight of dehumanization and lessened the chances for creative ideas to arise from below.

It is dehumanizing when development agencies prevent farmers and their own lower fieldworkers from associating with the administrators. Authoritarianism by dedicated superiors is often more difficult to combat than the cruder, openly dictatorial varieties. Who wishes to call into question a guru, a saint? How many communities will support a struggle against an individual who chose to live with them, eat their food, speak their language? Rural communities will rather accept submission to authority than bring about emotional conflict against their deeper values of hospitality, gratitude and security. This situation puts a rigid wall high enough to discourage the entry of new ideas and actions.

III
REFLECTIONS

Creativity is closely tied to giving others the freedom to participate in decisions. Sr. Kristera illustrated this during her CIRD 1 talk. As principal of a vocational high school in home economics at Magelang, Central Java, Indonesia, she sought to promote

socio-economic attitudes among her students. For five years she labored alone and in vain. The teachers were outsiders, uninvolved. In her frustration, she looked inwards: "I began to know myself. I saw I was the only fighter, a lone fighter. I became more and more aware that if you want to build something, you need each other; you have to work together. That was my conversion, a deep change."

Sr. Kristera reflected that in 1971 she entered into a new period of close collaboration with the teachers. She openly shared her plans, invited critical reflections, sought alternatives: "Little by little we understood each other better; we could talk frankly; we could criticize one another." The school was transformed, a burst of new energy entered the classrooms, flowed out into the community. After nine years of this experiment, the government recognized the usefulness of this model and proposed it to other schools

The story of Sr. Kristera describes a case of how leadership can transform itself through a spirit of oneness with subordinates. What other processes help communities discover their creative energies? Bambang Ismawan narrates how the Indonesian values of **musyawarah** (people's dialogue), **mufakat** (consensus) and **gotong royong** (cooperation) help to renew communities. The process can be described as follows: whatever rural people have not discussed in their own way, will ultimately not be understood by them and considered as an outside, irrelevant problem. Once discussions begin, they must achieve consensus. Without consensus, people will indeed realize the presence of a problem, but will not feel themselves capable or obliged to solve it. Consensus is reached when everyone has a clear understanding of the problem and a clear idea of the action to be done by the individual, his group or his community. These are the essential steps by which the community receives new ideas, new simple techniques which in turn enables them to change and to increase their capability towards integral human development in community.

Fr. Patrick J. McGilnchey pointed out in CIRD 1 that dedication alone is not sufficient to release the creative potentials of a community. Managerial skills, organizational know-how, training related to one's chief tasks — these were also vital factors in every rural project. Ir. Soetrisno Kusumohadi's CIRD 2 paper listed Dana Sehat's experiences in cadre training. Curriculum design was determined jointly by the trainers, community leaders and the cadre. Subjects were chosen on the basis of observation and survey of local conditions. Teaching was practical, easily understood and based more on discussions and practice rather than lectures. For every theoretical principle taught, the cadre was assigned a simple, related task in the community. The skills taught to the cadre were

aimed at increasing his capacity to participate in community building processes: skills for lessening the isolation of the village, for increasing its motivation, for communicating its problems and hopes.

Is Ideology Creative?

Is ideology compatible with creativity? The question comes up because the development field is one of the arenas where contending ideologies clash. To win the support of peasants, ideologists present blueprints to guide mass actions and appeal to common interests to legitimize their claims. Ideologies can be of the right, proposing programs that defend existing interests; or those of the left, proposing to change the social order.

Ideology often begins as a protest of man against dehumanized existence, the exploitation of man by man. Whatever ideology's form, whether religious or secular, utopian or scientific, its central issue is living man and woman, with their sufferings and hope for a better tomorrow. Ideology can be a quiet expression of protest but it can also be a passionate call for struggle.

CENDHRRA, while aware of the continuing presence of ideologies in the development field, does not offer a forum for the confrontation of differing ideologies. To be reduced into becoming a vehicle for a single ideology would mean for CENDHRRA the loss of its objectivity and authenticity. Analysis and critical reflections about development will no longer come from people's thinking and values, but from an idealistic formulation of a perfect society. Criticism of the ideology itself becomes prohibited. Without any critical feedback, creativity diminishes.

There have been a few examples in CENDHRRA's experience where ideology and creativity seemed to be incompatible. Ideologists claim to be sensitive to human needs. One of the crucial needs of the rural poor is to be heard, to be listened to. Yet, the ideologist is seldom a good listener; he already knows the problem beforehand, already has the packaged solution, already calculated what strategy to use. He sees nothing new about the present situation; it has already been classified in his training book and he remembers how he is supposed to react. He hardly discovers new alternatives because he has been indoctrinated to impose the official approach. The world of creative maturity permits a variety of political choices and responses. The ideologist, however, restricts the apprehension of reality to the blind following of a theory.

This caution against ideologies is not a denial of the need to discuss political issues. Many development decisions are political in nature, like land reform, credit systems, price policies and

marketing reforms. To render development apolitical is a device of politicians to silence any grassroots criticism and participation. But once the masses are made politically apathetic and marginal, they become vulnerable to ideological manipulation and propaganda. Therefore, the field of development must also promote the politicization of rural life so that a more mature consciousness might arise and become alert against ideological distortions.

IV
ACTION

The creativity of the development worker increases through partnership with the researcher, the educator, the communicator. Without their contributions, practical-oriented people might easily become lost in a maze of disconnected experiences. Realistic plans need information about remote events and conditions that influence one's immediate work. This information, together with a comprehensive analysis of situations, can come from cross-fertilization between action people and idea people.

One of the goals of the CIRD workshops is to bring about this cross-fertilization. Development theorists like Prof. Theodor Dams help CIRD participants increase their awareness of the total picture of issues and conditions that affect their rural work. Working on the rich data of experiences brought by participants into the workshops, Prof. Dams analyzes the socio-economic problems of projects and identifies alternative approaches leading to possible solutions.

CENDHRRA partners continue to promote this cooperative link between academicians and practitioners.

- The Korean Association of Farmers Educators (KAFE) can tap the research expertise of Dr. Cheong Chija Kim of the Population Council, and of Dr. Cheong Ji Woong of the College of Agriculture, Seoul National University, and of Ms. Song Vo Kyung of the Cooperative Education Institute.
- The Indonesian Development of Human Resources in Rural Areas (INDHRRA) has available the scholarship of Dr. Washington P. Napitupulu, Mr. Sarino (former Minister of Education), Drs. Bambang Ismawan and Drs. Wisnu Djatikusumo. INDHRRA is also informally linked with educational institutions like the Darul Fallah Agricultural School.

- In Japan, CENDHRRA's partner works with Professors Yukawa and Fujiwara of Yamaguchi University and with Fr. Isamu Ando and Mr. Hideo Takeichi of Sophia University. They cooperate with the Asian Rural Institute through Mr. Hajime Kikuchi.
- Among the development institutions available to the Filipino partners are the Asian Social Institute through economist Gerard Rikken; the Philippine Educational Theatre Association through Remy Ignacio-Rikken; the Communications Foundation for Asia through Mr. Genaro Ong; SEARSOLIN: Southeast Asia Rural Social Leadership Institute through Fr. William Masterson, S.J.

Besides linkages with research groups, creative cross-fertilization can come from access to the world of new ideas and techniques. This occurs through reading—a necessity that has become a rare luxury among development workers. They work till late at night; they are often too tired to read; they are seldom encouraged by their organization to keep themselves up to date on recent agricultural findings and development trends. If the individual is denied reading time, might not his ideas and behavior become increasingly simplistic, repetitive and standardized?

Therefore, the importance of publications like *Trubus*. It is written in Indonesian for Indonesian farmers and development workers. Articles cover topics on new agricultural techniques with how-to-do-it yourself illustrations. Besides writing on the technical and material problems of farmers and development workers, *Trubus* discusses the rural people's basic human values: their processes of dialogue, consensus and cooperation. We need to know more about similar publishing efforts from our partners. Those involved in grassroots development communications need to know more about each other's work and experiences. In turn, the magazines they produce need wider circulation among fieldworkers and farmers.

3. STRUCTURES

The real choice we have to make is between sticking to our present system, which is largely guided and manipulated for the benefit of the rich countries, and opting for a system directed towards finding solutions to the problems of an equitable division of income and property, of scarcity of natural resource and the despoliation of the environment.

—J. den Uyl
Prime Minister of the Netherlands

National economic policies for fostering agricultural progress are obviously a matter for the sovereign decisions of individual countries. But there is an overwhelming body of evidence that points to a singular failure in nearly all less-developed countries to adopt policies that provide an incentive for agricultural innovation and modernization.

—W. David Hopper

Figuratively speaking, the peasant may be lying on his back not because he is lazy but someone has a foot planted on his throat.

—D.J. Greenwood

I
ORIENTATION

Structures influence the kind of concepts that will explain development processes. One kind of structure will tolerate concepts from below; another will promote only polished concepts from the top. Creativity, likewise, flowers within certain structures sympathetic to imaginative ventures. Others are more apt to restrict members to stereotyped activities.

What are those structures that are continually mentioned in development literature whose rhetoric of today is full of calls for "structural change" and for "structural analysis?" The structures in question refer to the basic institutions of society — family, religion, economic, politics, culture, education. Interest in them is not focused solely on the effects of one unit isolated from the rest, but on the full impact on man's life coming from their linkages. For

example, the partnership of the economic system with the military can profoundly reshape the history of nations, much more than if each system had kept to separate corners.

The concern for knowledge of structures is in line with scientific traditions. Human intelligence desires to achieve an adequate understanding of the organizational and bureaucratic processes that rule their lives. The impulse to bring about "structural change" need not be quixotic or anarchic because structures are created not by impersonal forces but by human actions. Confronted by new situations, people have the capacity to construct new forms of action leading to new structures.

Change agents working in obscure spots of the world cannot ignore far-off structural processes. One can compare the possible results of such ignorance to that of a farmer forgetful of the very real influence exerted on his field by the distant sun. Very often, the inability of small farmers to overcome their poverty is due not to their personality weaknesses but to the obstacles put on their way by the unseen economic and political structures under which they live.

Old Structural Frameworks

From the end of World War II until close to the sixties, the emphasis of development policies was put on industrialization and urbanization. The rural sector was seen mainly as a reservoir of cheap labor to build up manufacturing and supporting services. Capital formation was highest in urban industries whose technical progress absorbed the surplus labor coming from the ranks of subsistence agriculture. Eventually, the benefits of industrial growth in the modern sector were to "trickle down" to uplift the rural poor.

This narrow techno-economic approach promoted a society divided into two parts: one enjoying the technology, institutions and styles of living patterned after developed economies; the other part, much larger than the first, characterized by levels of living bordering on the subsistence. In the new countries, the continued dominance of an elite accustomed to expensive tastes has been strengthened by the policies of the old colonial powers. Encouragement has been given for the importations of capital and consumer goods that cater to the rich, for the preservation of educational and cultural systems that support dualism.

Modernization, when introduced into a dualistic structure where resources are the monopoly of a few with the masses marginalized, will only serve to increase income disparities, unemployment and social unrest. Furthermore, the creative and productive capacities of the rural people are paralyzed by the severity of an existence unable to meet its basic needs of food, health, shelter.

Structural Reforms

It is easy to preach about the need for structural changes. even leaders and elites in the Third World, ever alert to echo the latest development thinking of international agencies, are calling for new approaches. But the social and political consequences of change confine such pronouncements within the safety of forums where the audience is committed to preserve the old framework.

With the early 1970s, attempts to reform the old framework started to be made. This new thinking continues to be based on the framework of economic development but modified to work better by introducing (1) more people's participation in the previous top-down decision process; (2) better redistribution of wealth; (3) increased flow of resources to developing countries and improvement of their balance of payments. It remains to be seen whether this reformist position, known as the New International Economic Order, can solve the problems of the old.

II
WORKSHOP DISCUSSIONS

The typical CIRD participant is keenly aware of the effects on his village work of policies coming from dominant political and economic structures. The availability of credit, the regulated price of rice, the freedom to form peasant associations—these are but a few factors of village life on which central governments exercise their control. But whether to expose this knowledge of structural causes and effects at a workshop is another question. Often the participant feels that he does not have enough facts to give a comprehensive picture; that the problem is too massive for him, as an individual, to deal with adequately; that his statements might be taken as negative criticisms against the authorities. Prudence and silence are ancient survival virtues learned by those who work for the marginalized poor in dualistic societies.

Structure of Rural Agencies

We are just passing out of the pioneering stage of rural development. In the years shortly after World War II, cities had to be rebuilt and economic thought then favored urban industrialization as the sure way towards development. It took both courage and vision to work on rural upliftment. Only a few rare individuals possessed both qualities. While most professionals crowded to the cities, a few moved out to live in the villages. They cajoled government bureaucracies, fought with usurers and middlemen, became international beggars knocking on the doors of donors, were often misunderstood by their own group and labelled as

romanticists. They might have been the first "hippies" walking dusty trails without benefit of guiding gurus.

It has been proposed that after the period of charismatic leadership, the next stage belongs to the managers. Some reasons for the need of managerial expertise to "mop up" after the pioneers are the following:

(1) Often, the pioneer's guiding idea for developing an area was based on a single project, e.g. a cooperative or a hospital. In the course of time, this single approach remained stuck while other needs, now more urgent, were unattended. The managers would now want to integrate and coordinate single projects to other related programs.

(2) The dynamism and single-mindedness of the founding pioneer attracted some, alienated many. Gradually, only a few "true believers" remained loyal. But sometimes, these were "yes-people" whose commitment was based more on personal attachments and family connections rather than on objective reasons of the common good. These loyal followers sometimes screened what type of information and which persons would have access to the man on top. As a result, a great part of reality never reaches the pioneer. The managers, however, will tend to bring in task-oriented individuals with professional competence.

(3) Because of inadequate staffing, the tasks of administration, budgeting, training, field operations, public relations, even janitorial jobs were taken over by the over-worked pioneers. They seldom had vacations because if they did, the bookkeeper would not know how to pay salaries and the cook would not know where the salt was kept. The managers in contrast, would want to de-centralize these positions and delegate them to others.

Is it an improvement to have the managers take over after the pioneers? At CIRD-1, participants expressed several reservations about the way managers handle development situations. A Philippine example was given in which, less than a year after the managerial group took over a rural organization, programs were in disarray because new procedures were introduced prematurely among untrained personnel. Demoralization also took place among field workers accustomed to informal processes and who now had to adjust to formal regulations. Moreover, the managerial class proved to be more unsympathetic to participation-from-below than even the most paternalistic of the old pioneers.

How to solve this dilemna of being caught between the paternalism of the pioneer and the cold-blooded detachment of the manager? The participants dreamed of pioneers with managerial

know-how, or of managers with the pioneer's paternal concern. But others pointed out that this problem arises mainly when possibilities of leadership are confined to vesting it in one favored person or outside group. The proper vehicle for leadership is with a representative group coming from the community and chosen by them. This statement of principle was readily accepted by the participants; but how to translate this into action remained vague and uncertain.

III
REFLECTIONS

The complexity and magnitude of development work make of it a venture for giants. Governments have the administrative powers and resources to implement nation-wide programs. Business has the technical skills and financial inputs to carry out limited but effective productivity schemes. Is there still a corner of the development world left for the smaller contributions of non-governmental agencies?

The Nature of NGOs

Most CIRD participants come from small organizations with annual budgets ranging between US$20,000 — $60,000 (with a few whose program costs reach over one million dollars), staffed by 10—20 persons, sponsored by a religious group with international contacts and almost fully dependent on outside funds. The brochures of many picture their programs as multi-purpose; but in actuality, given their budget and staff limitations, their programs tend to be restricted, sporadic and fragile.

Staffing remains a continuing headache for the small organization. Many of their "best and brightest" workers leave them for government or business jobs. The reason is not always monetary: creative persons are more easily frustrated under paternalistic authoritarianism. Likewise, an objective analysis of the severe limitations of small agencies might lead a dedicated young person to conclude that he can help his countrymen better in a government position. If this "brain drain" continues, the small agency might reach a point where its remaining workers are mostly uncreative and the blindly obedient.

The weaker an organization, the greater its need for information. Yet, the quantity and quality of information flow among Asian rural agencies is pitifully inadequate. Many pilot projects of NGOs are set up on the assumption that their findings can be repeated in other areas. Yet, very little data about any replication of experiments ever circulates.

Through the years, a body of knowledge has accumulated regarding tested methodologies in every rural field imaginable: irrigation, nutrition, extension services, cooperatives, cottage industries, etc. Yet, many rural organizations start their projects from zero point, ignorant of past experiences and inevitably fated to repeat avoidable mistakes. The founder of an Asian rural movement wanted his field workers to read only his writings and to listen unquestioningly to his formulations; no outside speakers could be invited into his self-sufficient training compound. It is consoling to know that this example of allergy to new information is a rare case. Most rural groups are happy to get as much information as they need — if only they knew where these were stored and how they were distributed.

Organizations with limited resources need the cooperation of other complementary organizations. But young agencies fear that premature coordination would lead to loss of their autonomy. Other groups shy away from inter-organizational cooperation having seen attempts in the past by one organization to mobilize the others under its dominance. There is need to map out an organizational network showing possibilities for direct and indirect cooperation with one another and to show how a network of cooperating organizations constitutes a better instrument for integral rural development than the present fragmentation among NGO's.

We return to our previous question — since government and big business alone have the necessary resources to cope with development problems, and since NGOs are understaffed, erratically funded, inadequately informed — what role is left for the latter? Rural people seem to give one kind of answer: if there is a choice between trusting a government agent or an NGO's field worker, the majority will still prefer the non-governmental person. Every village has its stories of corruption, manipulation, indifference suffered at the hands of business representatives and unscrupulous government agents. The reputation of NGO's, by contrast, remains generally untarnished. Perhaps another question is more to the point — given this reservoir of trust and confidence placed on them by the rural poor, how can NGOs best live up to these expectations? Part of the answer might already lie along the lines discussed: less authoritarianism (the very characteristic criticized in government and business), better information resources and more inter-agency cooperation.

IV
ACTION

A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing. And when Humanity lands there, it looks out, and, seeing a better country, sets sail. Progress is the realization of Utopias.

—Oscar Wilde

Designs for New Frameworks

Suppose we woke up with a totally different framework, one which considered people and their creative energies as the most valuable asset a development program can ever have? Suppose also, we were working under administrators who believed in involving people at all levels in the organization's decision processes? Suppose national development did not lead to consumption-oriented societies but to self-reliant communities where ordinary men and women can find self-fulfillment? If all these structural possibilities were real — would they make a difference in the life of the rural poor, in the food they eat, the clothes they wear, the houses they can afford, in the vision and dreams they can actualize during their lifetime?

What if Ordinary People Started Moving?

In the course of the CIRD workshops, people from many countries came to know one another: the conditions, the resources, the experiences, the dreams of fellow participants. Out of this treasure of shared experiences, arise new possibilities. Small teams to stay a few months to study in depth a few projects such as: the Manabo Irrigation, Project in Abra, Philippines; the community health programs of the Yayasan Indonesia Sejahtera; the Sinai Project in Thailand, etc. Training institutions such as the Asian Rural Institute (Japan), SEARSOLIN (Philippines), Seoul National University's College of Agriculture might exchange professors and hold seminars. A mobile team of resource persons like Bambang Ismawan, Jesus Montemayor, Song Vo Kyung, Cheong Ji Woong, Teruo Fujiwara might visit projects needing their specialized help. Publications like *Trubus, Vibro, Impact* would receive a variety of original articles written by persons with actual involvement in grassroots projects. Local groups will follow the examples of KAFE in Korea and INDHRRA in Indonesia in holding follow-up activities which increase the dialogue between government and private organizations.

If activities similar to these were started and gained momentum, then, perhaps, structures may start bending a little more towards integral human development. The level of awareness among decision makers may rise a little towards human needs and aspirations. New interrelationships may form among formerly isolated organizations. Then perhaps, a few more persons will catch glimpses of the vision of a new and better human community.

4. WHOLENESS

But when all the business of life from birth to death is transacted in villages, why should not the whole learning of life be available also in villages? . . . I ought to be able to get a complete education in my own village, for my village is not a fragment, it is an integral whole.

—Vinoba Bhave

Is it important to consider the *wholeness* of villages? If, as the records show, 70 to 80 per cent of the people in developing countries live in rural areas, would it not be logical to ask why the urban centers continue to absorb the greater part of development resources. That, in spite of the new thrust towards agricultural modernization and commercialization, the rural areas subsist in stagnation, if not deterioration. There is, too, the growing expansion of their urban extension: the city slums. The village constitutes their personal identification; it is their source of life and culture, their inspiration. For them, therefore, what happens to the village is directly reflected in their own lives.

Development activities in rural areas include a wide range of projects organized by governmental agencies, semi-governmental bodies, and different types of private and voluntary groups. One is impressed with a great multiplicity of projects, small-funded projects, cash-crops production, agri-business ventures. There are social laboratories and prototypes of socio-economic development with strong research support. Evidently, all these activities are demonstrations of an enormous need, as well as of potential in rural regions. As yet, there is no convincing reversal of a process of impoverishment in these regions. The successes of small development groups are limited and isolated. Their separate dynamism cannot build up into a counter-force which would be a source of permanent strength. Thus, unless the villages *together* move as a whole, it is not possible to envision a development process *in* the rural regions. That is, a growth that emanates from within the life and culture of the people. The indiscriminate acceptance of development processes which are offshoots of urbanization processes immediately jeopardizes rural needs. Given the development policies and strategies of national economy in some underdeveloped countries, it is more and more questionable whether rural communities should be "integrated" through their modernization and monetization with the national economy. Would this not eventually lead to a disintegration of rural communities?

Fragmentation of Villages

The fragmentation of villages was discussed in the Korea workshop in some of its aspects: the vertical relationship between development groups and donor agencies; top-down patterns of governmental programs; the lack of cooperation between governmental agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and a lack of coordination even among groups of the same category, e.g., among NGO's. A natural consequence, possibly unintended, of these patterns and relationships is a fragmentation process. Loyalties and identifications may be with donor or funding groups, to employers and patrons, and not directly with rural people. Accountability is given to the authorities above, and not to the people below. Rural villages are staked out and divided, and as a result new dependencies are created, contrary to goals of self-reliance and self-propelling development. There is clearly a need to review development orientations in order to assess the long-term consequences on rural communities, and for development groups to risk genuine affiliation with rural people and identifying with their true interests.

The process of fragmentation occurs in modernization efforts, e.g., the modernization of agriculture. Being the foundation of rural communities, the nature of agriculture affects the nature of community relationships. The social dislocations brought about, for instance, by the Green Revolution have been well documented: breakdown of traditional social responsibilities, enrichment of better-off farmers, increases in the numbers of landless workers, the burden of malnutrition, and so forth. Paradoxically, it is in the modernization of agriculture that the vulnerability of rural communities is most evident. Here, another type of vertical relationship exists which pre-conditions to a significant degree development efforts at the village level. The persisting integration of national economies of underdeveloped countries in an uneven international division of labor predisposes them to maintain export-oriented economies. Production and export of cash crops (sugar, coffee, tea, bananas, pineapples, etc.) is generally associated with low levels of food production for domestic use and chronic malnutrition. It is beyond the scope of this Report to present the problem; it is sufficient to say that national policies related to trade, land use, and aid agreements, in effect, set the framework of rural development. To develop village communities, resources need to be re-directed back to them, not in terms of minimum levels of food, shelter, health, and education (after a maximum extraction of such resources) but in terms of the highest human needs.

Self-reliance of Communities

The concept of village wholeness inspired the Indonesia workshop. In very simple terms coming from the experiences of participants, the concept of wholeness was expressed as the building of self-reliance of communities; integrating the poorest groups of a community; and the community taking on responsibility.

Self-reliance presupposes a conviction that people possess an innate potential for self-development. Freeing this potential may be the key to what self-reliance means. In persons, interior changes take place, in their mental and spiritual life, their attitudes and ways of thinking, their feeling of self-confidence and experience of self-respect. Outwardly, the person becomes aware of his position in society, of his capacities to build his community.

Self-reliance programs, even among the poorest, grow from the actual capacities of people. It was pointed out that one never really starts with absolutely "zero resources." The very survival of the poor in the face of adverse conditions and equipped with the barest of resources proves their essential capacity for self-reliance. In the balance between poverty and aid, in programs *for* people, and programs *by* people, working *for* people and working *with* people, there is a fulcrum of human-ness which determines the final worth of work; fulfillment of human needs and the actuality of hope. More often than not, self-reliance becomes simply synonymous with self-respect. People grow in their own terms, preserving their self-respect.

From a practical point of view, self-reliance requires a realistic appraisal of social institutions, of cultural, political, and economic constraints; and to determine at what levels of society self-reliance is possible. In self-reliance programs, efforts are directed towards the village as a whole. The nature of such activities may be expressed in various ways: working with the community directly, and not only through leaders; working from below through contact with people and understanding them; experiencing fully the situation of the poor; opening communication among different sectors in the community.

As in most development efforts that emphasize the human element, the underlying educational processes of probing into values, understanding attitudes, discerning meanings of words and action, require continuity. Since self-reliance of individuals or of a community as a whole requires constant attentiveness to one's resources and capacities, there is need for continuity to bring these out of one's self or one's community. Thus, the importance of follow-up programs, evaluation and feedback. But of permanent importance are the people's natural ways of self-reflection, their reflection in dialogue with one another, and the incorporation of these in people's ongoing programs.

Integrating the Poorest Groups

Village wholeness is not possible if the benefits of development accrue only to those already in favored positions in the community. Some of the problems which make work with the poorest sectors difficult were cited: the elite of the villages do not identify with the interests of the community; efforts to absorb the poor into the next upper social stratum result in benefitting only a few; work among the poor may pose dangers since their mobilization is sometimes misread as a political threat to those holding positions of privilege. It was also pointed out that the poor are often without access to society's resources because of society-imposed barriers which hinder their effective participation.

One tested strategy of incorporating the poorest in a village starts with a willingness to identify with them and to fully experience their situation of poverty. Attempts are made to train rural development workers to merge with the people, and to serve as a mirror, reflecting people's self-respect. Value is given to leadership that can be "absorbed" by the people, one that they can identify with; that carries their confidence and trust. Such approaches are intended to ensure that people are *moving as a whole* towards improvements in their lives that are transformed through their own conscious efforts. Involving an entire village in a common endeavor, where each one consciously knows the value of his contributions and the sphere of his responsibility, gives some assurance that the poorest and weakest sectors of a community will receive their rightful share.

The Community Taking on Responsibility

Ultimately, the measure of a community's responsiveness towards change lies in its alertness to make decisions and to take on its own development. Although the process of self-reliance may be initiated from external sources such as leadership training courses, adult education programs, cooperative organizations, yet, transfer mechanisms are not one-way propositions. Skills, knowledge, values may be said to be transferred to people, but the people themselves take on or reject the innovations presented to them. The quality and level of their response determine the critical difference between success and failure. It is important, therefore, to understand the origins of the meaningful response of rural peoples.

Sensitivity to cultural values, to traditional beliefs and knowledge may be the practical starting point. It is a slow process, admittedly, but it builds on existing positive elements that are discerned by the people themselves and by development workers. In the varied range of experiences that were discussed at the workshop, e.g., monitoring government training projects, establishing human settlements, training of rural workers and villagers, organizing

farmers, etc., it was seen that rootedness in people and in their values determines the strength of any growth process. The long tradition of self-help and mutual help, of dialogue and consensus in Asian cultures provide blueprints on which to base the structure of self-reliant communities. Responsibility that develops from people's dialogue and consensus, which in turn arise from their own indigenous values, has greater effectivity and permanence.

The level of response may also be limited by existing cycles of deprivation in a community; for instance, the cycle of malnutrition — poor health - low efficiency - unemployment - malnutrition. To take the community as a whole implies a different set of action. It demands the coordination of different development agencies working in a particular village to tackle problems in an integrated way. What is necessary is that entire communities, not just sectors or segments, break out of cycles of stagnation. Moreover, one sector should not develop at the expense of another. This latter tendency is mitigated when members of a community are made aware of their social responsibilities.

Response may also be derived from people's motivation and initiatives which could take on forms as diverse as their aspirations and perceived opportunities. The emphasis on educational processes serves to widen the scope of village life through creative participation of schools and villagers in common endeavors: problem-solving activites, cultural growth, knowledge-sharing programs. In these efforts, brought out through the concept of a *learning community*, the main idea is that of a community growing in responsibility and therefore, in self reliance.

The Learning Community

The processes described above with respect to people's community building leading to village wholeness are made possible through a fundamental learning process in which the entire community is involved. One of the most valuable concepts which crystallized in the Indonesia workshop is that of a learning community. It is perhaps in this experience that both process and content of the workshop can be said to have merged.

The fitting in of pieces of experiences and insights, of what is and what should be, of the actual and what is hoped for — all these strands converged to reveal what a community in dialogue is like. The openness of each one to learn, the patience to listen, the willingness to share created an atmosphere where learning became mutual responsiveness, a mutual helping. As participants spoke of training goals, programs and techniques, they were also training themselves.

In various learning situations that are a part of development processes, distinctive ways of teaching and training follow the principle of giving primacy to people's dialogue and the careful identification from the very beginning with those to be "taught" and "trained." What are the characteristics of such a learning situation?

A *dialogue begins by listening*. Contrary to the usual practice of telling rural people what to do, the trainors begin by fitting into the rhythm of village life. They begin by learning from the people. Work among people should lead towards gaining acceptance by the people, to winning their confidence and sharing their trust. To achieve this, the individual assesses the so-called points of entry into the lives of the people. These can be as varied as the area's material needs. But the worker must go deeper; he studies the people's patterns of communication, their natural modes of dialogue. He catalyzes their words into reflections which enable them to see their life and work objectively. These reflections create a momentum towards better understanding of the way their work shapes their life, the way their thoughts find enrichment through discussions. Without inner motivation and real personal involvement, the people will fall back into their attitudes of apparent indifference. Whatever skills and material provisions are given to them will be lost in shortlived achievements. The community's ability to dialogue, to openly discuss its problems, to reflect on itself — are not experiences unknown to it. The difficulty lies in the insensitivity of the outsider to listen and to learn from people's dialoging processes.

Imparting skills and knowledge begins by eliciting people's wealth of experiences. People have a natural feel of their terrain and geography, of nature's part in their lives. They have a natural knowledge of what works, and what does not. It takes time to build on this, but there is no other springboard from which to introduce new skills and knowledge that somehow relates to their situation. The dialogue of word and work is the most natural channel through which new ideas are introduced to them.

The whole concept of appropriate technology is properly understood as a method based on people's native ingenuity and natural patterns of coping with their environment. In a particular learning situation where new technology, for instance, is being introduced, the trainor must be aware of the cultural gap that he brings into the situation. Just as people do in all human situations, they will create their own adaptations. There have been many occasions where, as they adopted new technologies, new problems surfaced which reduced further their resources and capacities. The

trainors bridge the realistic capacities of a community with the new external inputs. In this sense they continue to train in the field — being catalyzers of ever new experiences.

A learning situation where everyone is a learner. The workshop discussed the nature of learning situations where training and general education programs are oriented to actual life conditions. An example given was of the direct participation of rural schools in village community life. Teachers, students and villagers tackle community problems together. The dialogue of word and work occurs through discussions, consensus and cooperation. Such schools were described as centers of learning, information, and innovation. These schools were seen not as institutions but as "learning communities;" not as organizations, but as "organisms." What was presented was the structure of a community whose members are sensitive to its needs and engage in mutually supportive actions.

Reflecting in dialogue as a learning process. The importance of reflecting in dialogue seems evident if the community indeed has to be moved as a whole. Just as a self-reliant community cannot logically end up in isolation and self-sufficiency, so too its members cannot grow without inter-communication and inter-dependent relationships. The process is initiated by reflecting on one's self or on one's work. The mutual exchanges which take place in a group bring out critical awareness or affirmation. This lessens fear, strengthens inner freedom, results in keener self-awareness. Reliance on one's self precisely means being aware of one's unique qualities and capacities. Yet, this awareness needs confirmation which is provided by another person. The person-to-person process enlarges when people come to work together. Thus, their reflection together, their reflection in dialogue builds a basic human relationship, an open communication upon which they build their community. The learning process becomes as natural as people's ordinary day-to-day dialogue.

A Sense of Completeness

Village wholeness is here understood to be a natural evolutionary process which originates from the village people themselves, their culture and values, their vision and aspirations. It should be accepted as a growth process in its own right. This view is a departure from the unchallenged position that development radiates from the modern centers; that the dominant urban centers are the sources of culture and civilization.

The summit of human development is not necessarily found in the City; but it resides wherever authentic human communities

develop, truly expressive of man's finest aspirations. Rural development cannot be achieved if it is persistently conceived to be a peripheral process, merely accompanying the development of modern centers. Being the natural place of the vast majority of peoples, the development of rural areas must be regarded as a central process which brings about the integration of villages. The integral wholeness of villages is created through the growth and sharing of indigenous knowledge systems, cultural achievements, and humanizing values. It makes possible a life situation where "every aspect of life is complete."

POSITION PAPER

RURAL DEVELOPMENT: MARKETING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

Theodor Dams

The CIRD workshop series has greatly benefited from the contributions of resource persons such as Dr. Jesus M. Montemayor, Chairman, Department of Land Tenure and Management, Agrarian Reform Institute, University of the Philippines, Sr. Christera Sri Rudati, Director, Sekolah Kesejahteraan Keluarga Atas and Dr. Theodor Dams, the author of this abbreviated position paper which was prepared for CIRD 1. Professor Dams is Director of the Institute of Development Economics at the University of Freiburg, i. Br., Federal Republic of Germany. We feel that this paper offers an analytical approach that is of practical value towards systematic planning and implementation of rural projects.

The Problem of the Rural Poor

One of the main tasks of economists and social scientists is to deal with the adaptation process of agriculture in a growing economy and to define the contributions of agriculture to over-all socio-economic development. The following are the main goals:

1) to overcome the absolute poverty of the rural population by a better allocation of available resources (the main problem here is the imbalance between the existing production factors and the population);
2) to withdraw the socio-economic-political constraints which hinder higher agricultural productivity and better living conditions in agriculture;
3) to stimulate socio-economic development in agriculture and to support positive external effects of agriculture for other sectors of the economy.

Not until 1973 has the situation of agriculture been recognized through a more realistic approach: the majority of the absolutely poor live in the rural areas and in the agricultural sector. There are a lot of restrictions on the access to resources. Considering the existing land tenure system, the introduction of new technologies in farming is more likely to increase the income gap between the rich and the poor.

Responsible people within the political framework have recognized that the slow growth of agricultural production in several developing countries (and partly even its absolute decrease) is mainly attributable to the absence of major social and institutional changes affecting the organization of rural communities. It is also realized that success in agricultural and rural development depends mainly on the motivation and mobilization of the poorest part of the population.

The World Bank Conference in 1973 (Nairobi, Kenya) pointed out that in some cases, official development policies and projects achieve little to improve the living conditions of the lowest income group in agriculture and in rural areas. According to these statements, around 40 percent of the people in developing countries still live in absolute poverty, the majority of which belongs to the rural population.

Reflecting the search for efficient solution, a new concept has been discussed: *integrated rural development*. The term "integration mainly implies two considerations:

1) The situation of the rural poor can only be improved if they are integrated into the overall system . . . the society as a whole must develop a better awareness of the problem . . . specific projects must be designed to fit into the general development orientation, since isolated approaches will only have a short life. [1]
2) Integrated rural development means a "package program". It must take account of the interrelationships of socio-political, economic and technical factors in a system approach.

Considering this definition, this paper will cover one of the most important problems of integrated rural development: the lack of marketing facilities for agricultural products as a constraint of the participation of the poor; and the role of the marketing of agricultural products in the "package programme".

Integrated Rural Development: For a Clearer Conception

Generally, "rural development is defined as improving the living standards of the mass of the low income population residing in rural areas and making the process of their development self-sustaining". [2] Three important requirements have to be met:

1) priorities in the mobilization and allocation of resources;
2) mass participation and mobilization;
3) building of new institutions for self-sustaining development.

[1] H.R. Kotter, "Some Observations on the Basic Principles and General Strategy Underlying Integrated Rural Development, *Monthly Bulletin of Agricultural Economics and Statistics*, FAO, vol. 23/4 April 1974, p. 2.

[2] U. Lele, *Designing Rural Development Programs: Lessons from Past Experience in Africa*, University of Reading/Overseas Development Institute, England, 1974.

In the decade 1950-60, the "community development" approach was devised to mobilize human resources on the local level. This concept aimed at a "total approach", but, in most cases, the economic aspects were neglected.

With the "Green Revolution" in the beginning of the 60s, the concept of the "package programme" was adopted by development agencies. Stressing the necessity of better or new production techniques, this approach took into account all the complementarities needed in order to reach an efficient input-output ratio, e.g., better inputs by extension services, agricultural credit for smallholders and marketing facilities to enable the farmers to repay the loans. The negative results showed that in a lot of cases the cultural and political framework as well as the central elements of the subculture of the peasantry have been neglected. Two other constraints with regard to higher effectivity: (1) the "one-action" or "mono-disciplinary approach" and (2) the concept of a "minimum package approach" neglecting, e.g., the marketing of agricultural products if higher production and productivity on the farm level were achieved.

Starting with the Rehovoth Conference (Israel 1963), a new concept, the Comprehensive Planning Approach on a regional level, was discussed. R. Schickele, former FAO expert, formulated the solution as follows: "The connecting link between national planning, on the one hand, and the local application of plans on the other hand . . . has to be obtained . . . through regional development planning". Here the "decentralization of authority" is seen as a means of implementing the plan. "Comprehensive planning" includes all economic sectors taking into account the interrelationship between economic, social, institutional and political factors. This very ambitious concept seeks to integrate all the activities on the horizontal as well as on the vertical level and considers the "human factor" in its social links.

The concept of "Integrated Rural Development" combines economic and social change with respect to the rural poor. The planning unit is the region, the starting point is the functional motivation of the population. In this context, H.R. Kotter gives a list of relevant elements of this planning and implementation approach:

Natural resources
- agricultural (including forestry and fisheries)
- non-agricultural

Human resources
- quantitative
- qualitative

Pattern of social organization

- values
- social stratification and mobility
- power structure
- land tenure system

Economic structure

- agricultural production
- structures
- agricultural industries
- other industries
- market relations

Infrastructure

- physical infrastructure
- transport and communication
- social infrastructure
- spatial order

Institution and organizations

- administrative structure
- people's organizations

Services

- marketing
- credit
- extension
- social security

Education and training

- formal
- informal

Technology

- agricultural
- non-agricultural

The ultimate aim should be to establish a scale, rating the relative weight of the elements in view of the ultimate development goals. Any activity undertaken should be "system-inherent and system-appropriate". Careful timing is therefore essential.

Regarding the elements in the list above, there is evidence that economic and social changes are mutually reinforcing and do not constitute alternative development strategies. Nevertheless, it is a little difficult to see precisely the importance of an efficient marketing and the combination of marketing measures with other tools of the development policy or program approach. The

marketing element is somewhat lost in this frame of reference -- hence, it needs an "integration" within the concept of "integrated rural development".

Behavioral Change Among Peasants: Socio-cultural elements vs. economic stimuli

Th. Schultz (*Transforming Traditional Agriculture*, 1964) raised the question: "What determines whether farmers will accept a new agricultural factor or a new organization of his holding through appropriate technologies?" He concludes that the rate of acceptance is closely related to the profitability of the new input or technology acquired. The highest "profitability" is linked with market transactions and fairly good prices, although profitability is also instrumental in the case of subsistence agriculture.

Schultz's arguments are challenged by other social scientists (E.M. Rogers) who are stressing the importance of socio-cultural variables for changing economic patterns among peasants.

This contradiction of concepts among social and economic scientists explains why the *integration* approach is confronted with certain constraints in analyzing the situation of the rural poor and why the marketing problem is not sufficiently recognized.

Therefore, a scientific attempt has to be made to put together in one model the economic variables linked with profitability and the socio-cultural determinants, both explaining the behavioral change among peasants.

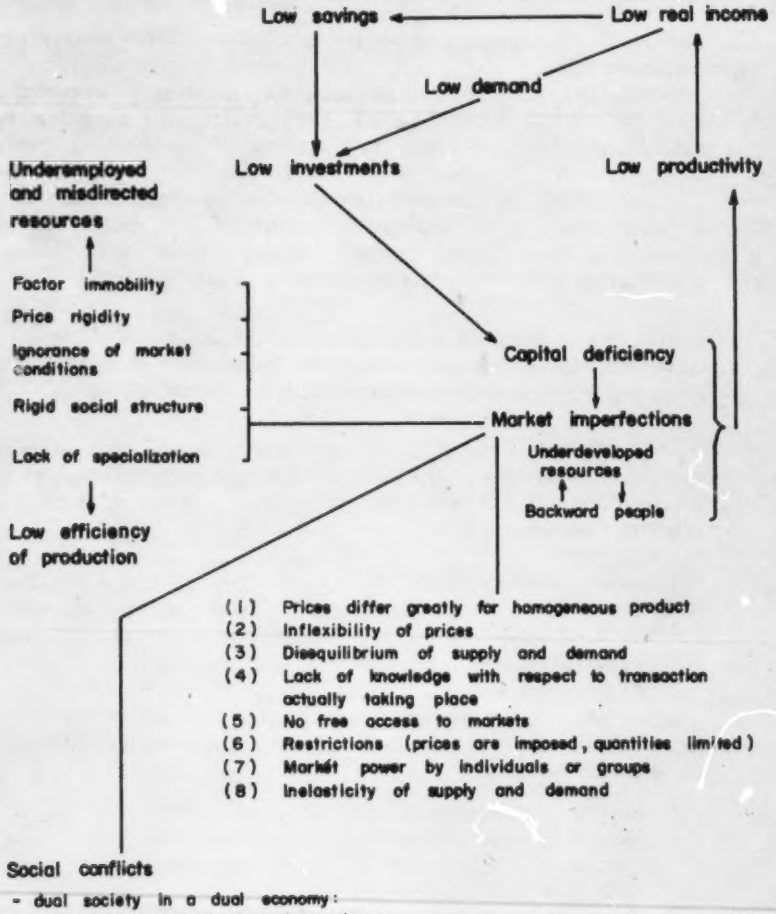
More and more empirical investigations explain the *economic* justifications of the so-called irrational behavior in this socio-cultural context:

1) People in subsistence agriculture work efficiently within the given framework of existing preconditions[3]. "The allocative efficiency of traditional agriculture" is comparatively high in relation to the traditional factor.
2) So-called *socio-cultural* elements of traditional behavior, the backwardness of the rural population, is *economically* justified. It is the result of the power structure in rural communities!

Traditional behavior is not a specific form of human values as such - it is the result of the economic, social and political power structure in the region. Using a higher technology in agriculture would result in higher productivity; but with regard to the

[3] Th.W. Schultz, *Transforming Traditional Agriculture*, 1964, p. 36 ff.

Diagram no. I **Circular Relationships Perpetuating the Low Level of Development**


Low savings
Low real income
Low demand
Low investments
Low productivity
Underemployed and misdirected resources
Factor immobility
Price rigidity
Ignorance of market conditions
Rigid social structure
Lack of specialization
Low efficiency of production
Capital deficiency
Market imperfections
Underdeveloped resources
Backward people
(1) Prices differ greatly for homogeneous product
(2) Inflexibility of prices
(3) Disequilibrium of supply and demand
(4) Lack of knowledge with respect to transaction actually taking place
(5) No free access to markets
(6) Restrictions (prices are imposed, quantities limited)
(7) Market power by individuals or groups
(8) Inelasticity of supply and demand
Social conflicts
- dual society in a dual economy:
- ruling classes and dependant classes
- ruling classes determine behaviour of dependant classes
- domination is a legitimate pattern of relationship
- the right of domination is restricted to institutions and individuals
- deviations are sanctioned
- overall impact: Effectivity of domination

Source: G. M. Meier and R. E. Baldwin; F. Machlup; A. E. Ott; R. Dahrendorf

instituttional framework of land tenure (dependency from landlords, moneylenders, dealers, etc.) there is an effective transfer mechanism favoring the ruling classes and the exploitating patterns of the rich. Traditional behavior is, therefore, in this context the only way to survive and work with reduced uncertainty.

This realistic approach which includes the economic, social and political power structures can influence in an efficient way the "program" in the analysis of causes preventing socio-economic development in rural regions. This approach could bridge the gap between the two differing concepts mentioned above.

Analysis of Market Imperfections for an Effective Marketing Strategy

The results of the discussions concerning "vicious circles" and "socio-economic dualism" are very well known. G.M. Meier and R.E. Baldwin contributed a very important element to the "circular relationships" perpetuating the low level of development or the maintenance of the "quasi-stabilized equilibrium" during the early stages of economic growth.

In *diagram no. 1*, in addition to the basic vicious circle, two aspects of "market imperfections" have been integrated: one is the ignorance of market conditions with the negative results of low production efficiency, and underutilization/misdirection of resources (G.M. Meier, R.E. Baldwin); the other one concerns the criteria in relation to prices, elasticities, access, control, etc. (F. Machlup, A.E.Ott). Unfortunately, as combination of the theory of "market imperfections" with the theory of social conflicts (C. Homans, R. Dahrendorf) which could illustrate "society imperfections" is not yet realized. This integration of both could provide a realistic approach of how to analyze and to explain the correlation of factors causing rural poverty.

Diagram no. 2 includes "International Forces" as potential factors of underdevelopment. In some cases, marketing strategies for agricultural products are closely linked with the national aim of higher export earnings (see *diagram no. 4*).

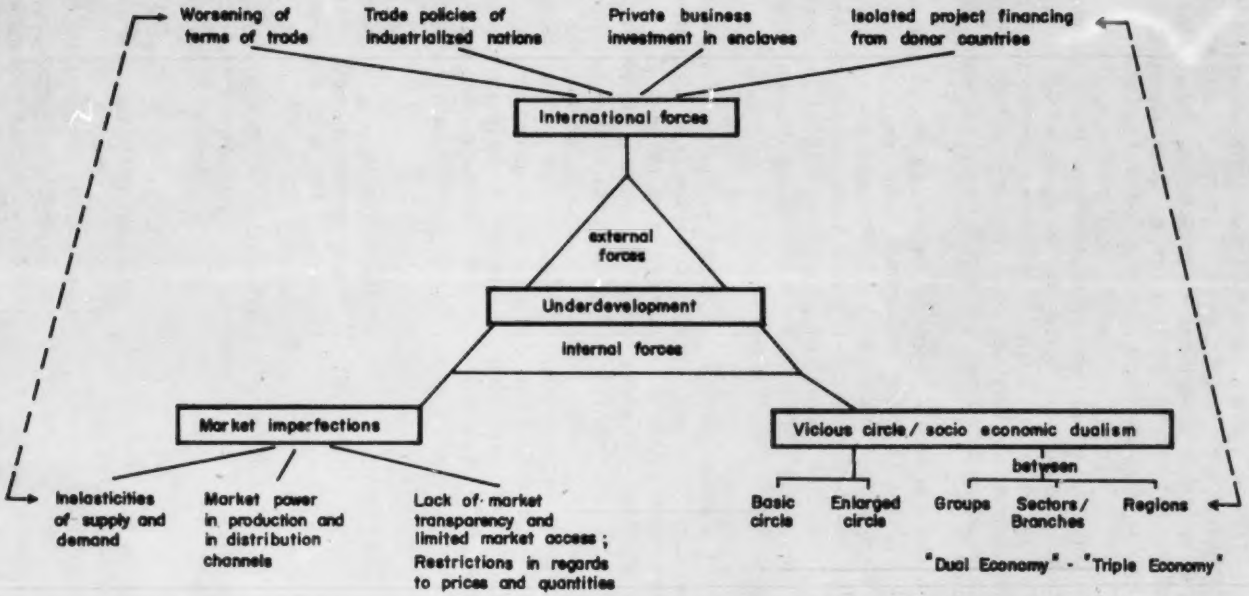
The conclusion can be summarized in this way: the approaches of sociological and of economic analysis have a close relationship. In order to develop an efficient market strategy we need a combination of both.

A New Circular Relationship: Subsistence Agriculture in the Marketing Process

To break the vicious circle, including market imperfections, is very difficult indeed. *Market imperfections* and *subculture of the peasantry* are linked with other factors worsening the socio-economic situation of the poor in rural areas (see *diagram no. 3)*. In some

Diagram no. 2

Internal Factors of Underdevelopment and their Reinforcement by International Forces


Worsening of terms of trade
Trade policies of industrialized nations
Private business investment in enclaves
Isolated project financing from donor countries
International forces
external forces
Underdevelopment
internal forces
Market imperfections
Vicious circle / socio economic dualism
Inelasticities of supply and demand
Market power in production and in distribution channels
Lack of market transparency and limited market access; Restrictions in regards to prices and quantities
between
Basic circle
Enlarged circle
Groups
Sectors / Branches
Regions
"Dual Economy" - "Triple Economy"

cases the existing traditional marketing system is integrated within the land tenure system; or in other words: free access to local or regional markets is impossible because the smallholdings are directly or indirectly connected to the feudal system.

The domination of landlords or large commercial farms with respect to the access to the production factor "land" is linked with a strong position in the local and regional markets. Apart from that, relationships with official services are better developed. In some cases, the landlords are the dealers and moneylenders too.

There is really a "magic triangle" in the polygon of the central elements discriminating against subsistence agriculture in the marketing process: the subculture of the peasantry as a rational reaction to the land tenure and credit system; inefficiency of governmental price and market policies as well as distortions of markets by economically strong people. "Given the landholding structure . . . it is not surprising that the marketing structure and all large volume, cash sales of agricultural products are dominated by the landowners, almost to the complete exclusion of the mass of peasants." [4]

Undoubtedly, the strong economic position of a small group in rural areas is closely linked with social influence and is correlated with political power. Under these circumstances, the bigger part of gains by measures stimulating the productivity and production will be transferred to the higher income groups.

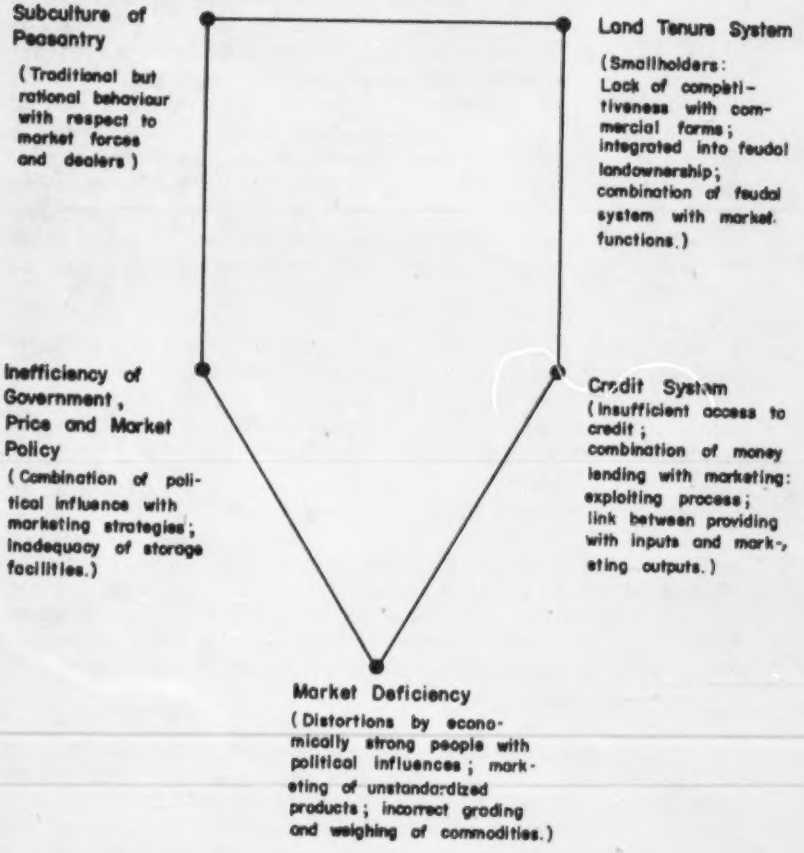
Marketable Surplus and Rural Development

It seems impossible to propose a global strategy of marketing agricultural products which could be generally applied. In reality, the five elements (see *diagram no. 3*) have different weights, and each situation differs from the other. Therefore, it is necessary to start in each case with a realistic investigation of the socio-economic situation which serves as the basis for an efficient strategy of marketing agricultural products.

Nevertheless, the main question of our reflection deals with the role of marketing in the transformation of backward rural areas, especially of the traditional agricultural sector of subsistence into commerical farming. A great number of scientists declare that the "principal marketable item of the rural transitional sector is, or should be, labor, not farm products, and the potential market for its surplus labor lies outside of agriculture." This statement refers to

[4] R.J. Clark, "Land Reform and Peasant Market Participation on the North Highlands of Bolivia," *Land Economics*, 1968, p. 153.

Diagram no. 3 **Central Elements Discriminating Subsistence Agriculture in the Marketing Process**


Subculture of Peasantry
(Traditional but rational behaviour with respect to market forces and dealers)
Land Tenure System
(Smallholders: Lack of competitiveness with commercial farms; integrated into feudal landownership; combination of feudal system with market functions.)
Inefficiency of Government, Price and Market Policy
(Combination of political influence with marketing strategies; inadequacy of storage facilities.)
Credit System
(Insufficient access to credit; combination of money lending with marketing: exploiting process; link between providing with inputs and marketing outputs.)
Market Deficiency
(Distortions by economically strong people with political influences; marketing of unstandardized products; incorrect grading and weighing of commodities.)

the surplus labor in rural areas. However, rural development includes "both the promotion of agriculture and non-agricultural activities which, on the one hand, are necessary to support a growing agricultural economy, while on the other hand, a developing agriculture provides a broadening basis of existence for non-agricultural pursuits" (ILO, World Employment Programme 1974). In this sense, integrated rural programs are instruments to reach a fuller integration of the rural regions *(in the national economy)* as well as the overall agricultural sector by attacking rural poverty. As a conclusion, an efficient marketing system depends on the basic conditions for agricultural development in a growing economy.

J.C. Abbott/FAO[5] called attention to some principles which have to be taken into account in assisting market demand to provide production incentives: (1) Reasonable stable prices for agricultural products at a remunerative level; (2) Adequate marketing facilities in rural areas as well as in urban agglomerations; (3) A satisfactory system of land tenure.

There are great difficulties in actually reaching producers by incentives:

1) Some empirical investigations have demonstrated that the peasant farmer may have "difficulty distinguishing the economic value when an innovation promises only a five to ten percent advantage." Therefore, it seems necessary to combine measures concerning marketing facilities with better inputs, agricultural extension services and credit facilities provided by revolving funds or credit unions.[6]

2) The dualism (the existence side by side of a technologically and institutionally backward sector) is a heavy constraint for the development of a successful marketing of agricultural products. In cases where the incidence of the dual economy in agriculture is very high, in the following stages of growth, the inequality will be greater than before.[7] Therefore, the measures mentioned in no. 1 have to be very well coordinated, e.g., in an institution supported by the producers themselves.

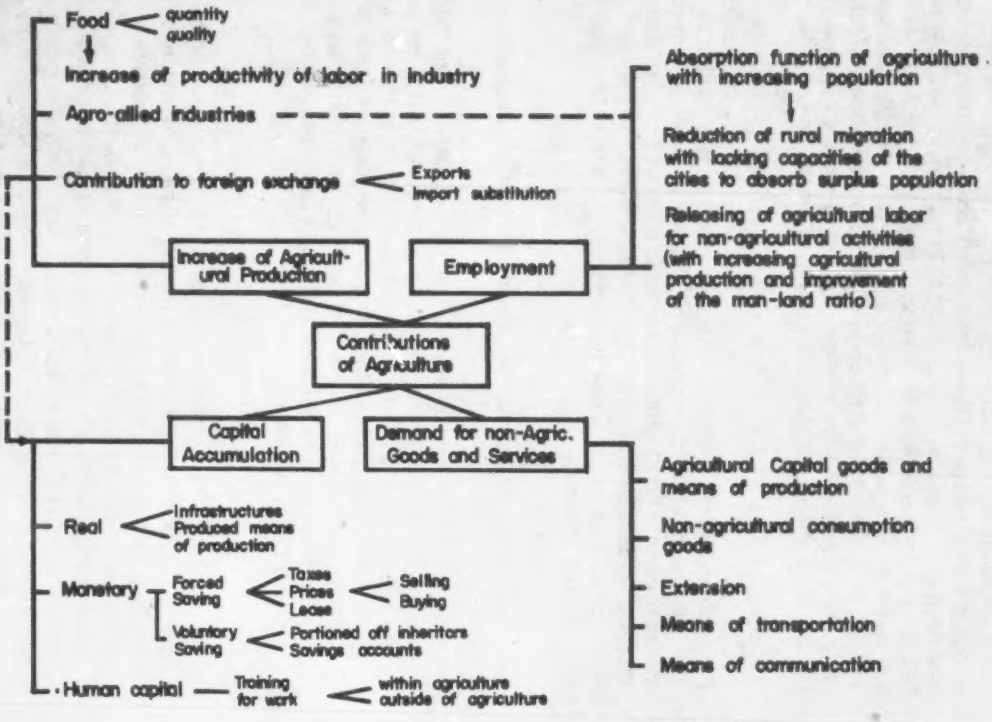
[5] J.C. Abbot, "The Role of Marketing in the Development of Backward Agricultural Economics," *Journal of Farm Economics*, vol. 44/2, 1962, p. 349.

[6] The Isidore Development Association, Cheju-Do, Korea, has some experiences in this field.

[7] J.H: Adler, *Development and Income Distribution*, Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, Bd. 108/1972, p. 332.

Diagram no. 4

Contribution of Agriculture to Economic Growth



Source: Publications of S. Kuznets, W. H. Nicolls, B. F. Johnston and J.W. Mellor

3) The agricultural price policy has to give incentives to the producers. In some cases the formulation of agricultural price policy is influenced by factors outside of agriculture (distribution of income amongst income groups, e.g., consumers, export earnings). Low food crop prices have discouraged expansion of food crop production for the market.
crop prices have discouraged expasion of food crop production for the market.

4) In some cases the degree of vertical and horizontal integration of the small farms has an important influence on the organization of the marketing system. The participation of smallholders in foreign markets is closely linked with the building of new institutions.

Principles of Planning and Implementation

The development of agriculture is closely related to the adaptive change from subsistence to commercial agriculture. The planner faces crucial constraints on the macro, micro and regional levels as well as on the economic, psychological, technological and institutional fronts. (*See diagrams no. 4 and no. 5* for the important elements).

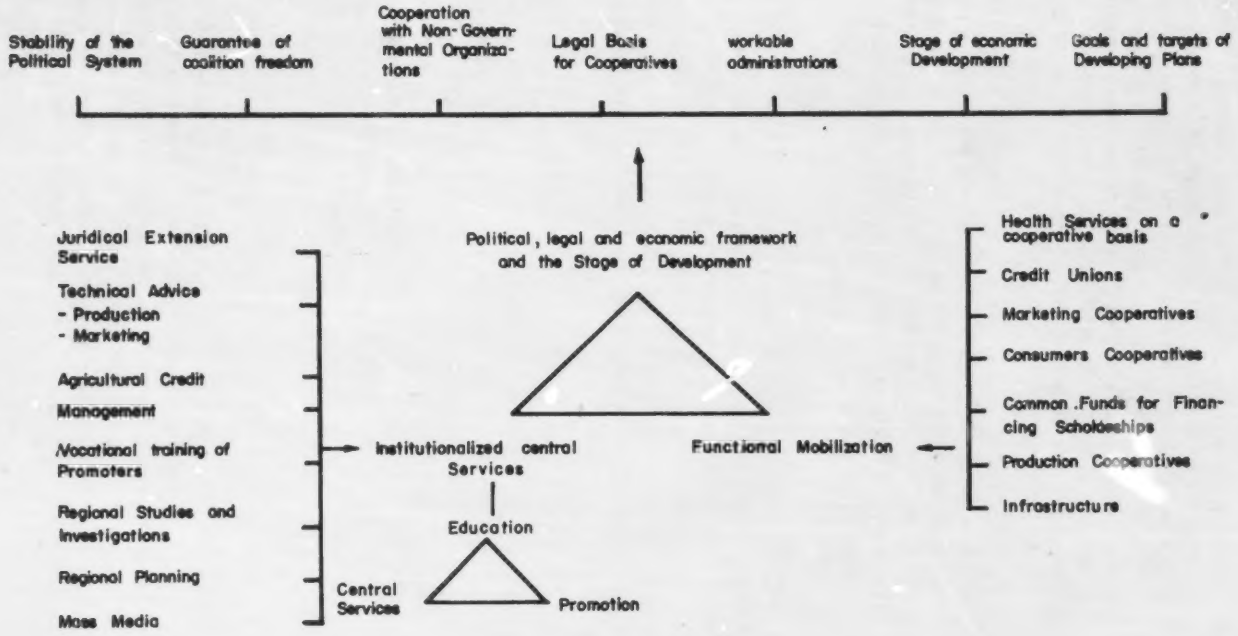
Other factors have to be included in an effective marketing system: to eliminate the uncertainty of prices (and production) by higher transportation and storage; to prevent wastage in marketing by handling and grading; to develop an effective personnel, etc. However, starting with purely technical measures while neglecting adaptations of the institutional and political framework might lead to misdirections in the allocation of resources and to frustrations among the open-minded farmers with modest aspirations.

Concluding Remarks

This paper will not *solve* the problems of marketing in the framework of integrated rural development. Instead, it only serves as a basis for the discussion of these questions: What kind of marketing strategy is needed, what has to be done to improve the planning of marketing facilities and what is the framework of analysis which is necessary for an operational strategy?

Diagram no. 5

Focal Points of Mobilization of the Population



APPENDIX A

CIRD WORKSHOPS: PROMOTING INTEGRAL COMMUNITIES

Persons involved in rural development work need to follow a vision. Without a clear vision of how his work contributes towards a better humanity, the develoomment worker can only produce confusion and isolated puzzles. Today he might believe credit unions to be the answer; tomorrow, it is the use of chemical fertilizers; one seminar converts him to the Irrigation Revolution; but another workshop soon focuses his attention on conscientization.

To put together these separate pieces means finding a pattern that reveals the relationships connecting agriculture to politics, technology to culture, economics to philosophy and religion. This difficult search for a whole-giving vision is made easier if shared with others.

The CENDHRRA workshop series is a small effort to join with Asian men and women in their desire to give fulfillment and meaning to their work and life. We have seen these efforts pointed towards the building of rural communities in an "integral" manner — where integral means respecting the knowledge, the commitment, the inner power of villagers to actualize their own development.

The participants of the CIRD workshop usually number 50 and come from these countries: Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines, Micronesia, Papua New Guinea, South Korea, Japan, Singapore and Hongkong. They have varied backgrounds: some are in community development projects, agricultural extension work, farmer education, training of development workers, credit union management, agricultural research, etc. When they come together in CIRD, the topic might be on nutrition, but the discussions will cover areas such as the relation of irrigation or education or research in a nutrition project. Specific projects are seen through an integrated perspective and discussions always involve multi-disciplinary approaches.

The principal resource persons and experts of CIRD are the participants themselves. They are the ones who work out the analysis of their approaches, the study of alternative strategies, the evaluation of their projects. Experts are not brought in to dominate

discussions or dictate solutions. They, too, integrate themselves into the learning process of listening to grassroots experiences, participating in project analysis and evaluation, and exploring more efficient ways of lessening rural poverty.

With the objective of promoting integral rural communities, and taking into account the background of the participants, the following topics were chosen for the CIRD series:

CIRD-1. The Effects of Agricultural Productivity on Integral Rural Development (June 1976, Korea)
CIRD-2. Rural Education and Training of Human Resources (November 1976, Indonesia)
CIRD-3. Family Well-being Through Community Health Services and Housing Programs (August 1977, Philippines)
CIRD-4. The Role of Youth in Integral Rural Development (November 1977, Malaysia)
CIRD-5. The Role of Religion and Culture in Integral Rural Development (June or July 1978; possible site: Bali, Indonesia)
CIRD-6. Strategies and Approaches for Building Up Integral Rural Communities (November 1978; site will still to be decided)

The preparations of the participants, as well as the discussions during the workshop, include these points: (a) definitions of the key concepts used in the decision-making processes within an integral rural development project; (b) analysis of the socio-economic situation; (c) description of the sub-culture of peasantry as basis for planning where people's participation and integration are taken into account; (d) analysis of the power structures in rural communities and evaluation of their constraining effects on progress; (e) use of the project as an instrument to mobilize people's energies and to build up responsive socio-economic institutions; (f) feasibility studies made at the beginning phase and built-in evaluation on the on-going stages of the project.

These regional workshops are also instruments for building up an Asian-wide community based on mutual understanding and cooperation. To form this community it is important that the regional workshops be linked to local workshops where grassroots persons actively participate. The process, therefore, depends first of all on the formation of dynamic local groups dedicated to the integral human development of rural individuals and their communities. Their experiences and reflections form the substance of the discussions presented at the regional workshops.

No technological inventions, no legislative decrees, no revolutions will take away the necessity for the hard, slow growth of building up communities in which the spirits and habits of men and women may take on more creative forms. □

APPENDIX B

CENDHRRA AS A CENTER
John Dijkstra

John Dijkstra, who saw the beginnings of CENDHRRA and greatly helped to nourish its initial phases, wrote this personal reflection on the concept of a center. The ideas expressed here articulate with clarity and insight the essence and meaning of a servicing center.

What is a Center?

A center, Webster says, is a place to which many people are attracted and from which ideas emanate. The many people attracted to the center, support it by bringing in their experience, problems, aspirations. The center can only work on what the people bring in, and only afterwards is it then able to emanate workable, feasible ideas in planning, organization, processes, problem-solving, etc.

In the case of CENDHRRA whatever ideas it proposes must always point towards more humanization of the rural people by the rural people themselves. It is immediately clear that in such a center, really humanized experts should work, analyzing rural people's contributions, understanding the real situation and conditions of rural people, so that the ideas it emanates never bypass people, are not too difficult to be understood by people, or ignore thier potentials.

The center always connects the ideas it receives from analyzing rural people's problems (with rural people's potentials and which can be feasibly implemented by rural people according to the situation they are in and their potentials. Ideas from the center, not connected with, not rooted in people's feasible aspirations for humanization, cannot be used by them and cannot be really taken up in their humanization process. This can only be undertaken by rural people themselves, step by step.

It is therefore important that the action-reflection in the center on rural people's process of humanization, is always shared with rural people, so that they themselves also can come into this initially difficult action-reflection process done by rural people themselves. To bring this about, that rural people move themselves based on what rural people bring in to the center, seems to be the main and unique task of a center like CENDHRRA.

Communication Brings Humanization

Relevant mutual communication, from rural people to the center and vice versa is the basically crucial and interdependent task of both rural people and the center. Particularly, the center has to take the initiative again and again to build better this mutual communication, which is at the same time real humanization. Why? Because it is very hard for rural people to believe that experts in the center are vitally and humanly interested in rural people's ongoing humanization. Since rural people's effectiveness and power in their humanization process can only be built up through local, rural village-communities— a power essentially needed also in their struggle for recognition and implementation of their rights, and through this struggle to move towards better implementation of their functional responsibilities in food-production — the center and the people together should give a very special attention for more and better humanization through village-community building by the local rural people.

In this mutual communication of rural people and center, the rural leaders have very special responsibilities, not only as animators of rural people in their rural community-aspirations and problems, but also in serving them to solve them. In the intricate cases, where they don't see any solution, they should still try to search for a solution in dialogue with rural people. When rural people with their rooted leaders cannot come to any solutions, these leaders should know where to turn to. They need experts, who really understand people's problems, who are human in attitude and approach. They know that these humanized experts are available through their CENDHRRA network. The rural leaders become then the bridge, the living instrument, the carriers of mutual communication of Center and rural people. Without these leaders, there is no rural people's humanization, no center, no integration of the three.

Philosophy of the Wheel

This integration of the three can be symbolized by a wheel. Let us take the wheel of the farmer's carabao cart. We find there in the center the hub or nave, which cannot move by itself. It only moves, turns around, goes backward or forward if the wheel moves. We have also the spokes. They are the communicating lines between the hub (center) and the circular periphery of the wheel. The last one is the rim of the wheel. The whole wheel consists of hub, spokes and rim.

They are an integrated unity that forms the wheel. What is the most important part? That is very difficult to answer. A spoke without a hub and rim are just separated sticks. The rim alone is very weak, and can be easily pressed (oppressed and suppressed). The nave alone, although the so-called center of the wheel, is totally helpless and powerless without the spokes that communicate with the rim.

Why is it that rural people need rooted leaders and a rooted hub? Rural people do a lot, think and reflect, they move all the time. The main problem of rural people is how to move in the right direction. It is a very human condition that in order to move rightly, they have rooted rural leaders, informal and hard working, trusted by rural people as their leaders. Rural leaders soon discover from experience and through many frustrations that they cannot just tell the rural people what they should do. If they do, rural people, with their very human experience and common sense, immediately separate themselves from such leaders, the spokes; or better the spokes, the leaders get uprooted from rural people, the rim, and the whole wheel starts to crack.

They discover that they need in different phases of their work a larger and deeper know-how, even a more scientific approach, and they experience that they can only obtain this from experts in agricultural science and particularly from experts in human science. They also know that in their problems, coming from rural people, they have to turn to such experts with whom they can relate humanly, experts who are also rooted in rural people. They have to go to a center where such experts are available, so that they can integrate and root in them also, like the spokes rooted in the rim and in the hub.

Real rural leaders do not want to see that rural people just move around, spin like a loose rim, because then there is no direction or purpose understood by people. They don't proceed, there is no progress, no movement forward, no ordered process of human development of rural people. In such a case rural people do not see really their real problems, they are misguided, fooled by consumerism or apathy, because they don't see what they can do in their own humanization, or they are afraid to stick out their neck in rural human development, because of uprooted, unreliable or corrupt "leaders". Their rim does not really cut into the ground; there is no friction with the road on which they move. And this friction is just absolutely needed for the moving forward of the wheel. Without friction the rim slips, and so does the whole wheel. If the rim slips, the whole wheel spins again, is rooted nowhere, but just spins, and all energy of people (rim), leaders (spokes) and center (hub) exhaust their energy just by spinning, and all come nowhere.

Human Development:
A Constant Process

This constant resistance and friction is an essential part of the healthy movement, rotation or revolution of the wheel. Without that no real progress is possible. Rural human development is a constant process of moving like the wheel of a carabao cart on the village road; it is a rooted revolution, a continuous overcoming of frictions from inside and outside the rural people. There will always be friction from inside and outside. That is very normal. If the friction is too much, the wheel should calmly look for another road, make a small detour, and then go on again, doggedly on the right road in the right direction: integral human rural development in community, together. It is a radical, rooted revolution that always starts and moves from and by rural people themselves, integrated with their rooted rural leaders and their center.

In this integrated movement rural people will recognize better what the frictions are that resist too much their moving, and they will know how to overcome them. These frictions are also within the people, always, and if rural people give up to overcome these inside frictions like apathy, frustration, hopelessness, then the outside frictions like mismanagement, corruption, oppression from uprooted "leaders" will become all the more powerful and rural people go down again, become more and more oppressed, and their wheel comes to a complete standstill; it stops to work as a wheel, it just lies down somewhere along the road; exhausted if not broken down totally.

These leaders themselves want reflection, more know-how, etc. , to serve rural people better in their needs and the people want them and so these leaders want a living center — a hub, rooted in them also, interested in them, understanding and loving them in their great responsibilities to serve rural people better to move on towards their goal of integral rural human development. Then the whole wheel can move.

The Lord of the Wheel

One thing could still help us. Let us reflect in the same way on the Buddhist prayer wheel, or the rotating, the turning around of a string of beads in the hands of farmers for prayer. They all know that, although they themselves are the motors of their development, there is a greater Motor: their Lord and Creator. Farmers live so near to the Lord in his creation of rural environment. They know deeply that if the Lord does not work in them, does not move them, does not move the land, the rain, the river, the seeds, the animals and does not give them growth — then the farmer can do nothing. Therefore, prayer, always rotating prayer based on deep faith that the Lord works always, should constantly accompany the great wheel of rural people's integral human development: the rim, the spokes and the wheel. □

APPENDIX C

CIRD-1 CASE STUDY OUTLINE

This is the case study outline used for the Korean Workshop which seeks to gather experiences on the impact of agricultural technology on institutions and people at the rural community level. The questions focus on the desirable and undesirable distributive effect connected with the operation of agricultural innovations. The inquiry looks into what institutional, social and political instruments to promote the welfare of small farmers were developed in the course of the project.

I. *Description of the main characteristics of the agricultural part of of the project*
   1. What are its technical features? How does it change and increase agricultural production?
   2. How efficient is this technology and how much of an increase in income and other assets has it made possible?
   3. What are the effects of this technology on capital-labor ratios: to what extent is it labor-using or capital-using?

II. *Description of the distribution of landholdings by size*
   (It is important to know this because it determines the capacity of individuals and organizations to take advantage of the technology.)
   1. Describe the relative distribution of land assets among the various groups like: the landed aristocracy; the big capitalist farm; the peasant (subsistence) class; tenants and landless laborers (What is their average income?)

It has been observed that some agricultural inputs, like new seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, can be used with equal advantage by small and big farmers. But those with larger land assets are able to take greater advantage of the benefits of new technologies.

It should also be noted that when an agricultural innovation makes one group better off than others, it changes not only income distribution but also the distribution of power. Therefore, information on the relative distribution of land and other assets is needed to understand how technical changes will probably affect political and social relationships between the various groups of a rural community.

III. *The distribution of institutional services*
   1. Describe the types of institutions that exist at the local level and the methods of distribution of their services.
      a. How available are the agricultural inputs needed to fulfill the goals of the new technology? What are the main obstacles for the better distribution of services and what caused these obstacles?

b. What groups have the easiest and most frequent access to these new inputs and services?

2. What spirit of service motivates the institutions connected with the project? What are the motivations and attitudes of the bureaucracy of these institutions as seen by small farmers? Are the norms for advancement within the ranks of these institutions helpful in producing self-less behaviors or otherwise?
3. What are the local farmers' experiences in organizing and carrying out group activites? What is the position of local leaders in issues involving the welfare of poorer farmers?

IV. *Description of local social customs and traditions*

1. What is the social and cultural framework within which community decisions are made?
2. What are the characteristics patterns of superior-subordinate relations in the community, e.g., between elders and youth, between landlords and tenants, between political leaders and farmers, etc?
3. How does the community attain consensus regarding key issues?
4. How does the community reward those who conform to its customs and how does it punish those disloyal to its traditions?
5. What stories in the form of myths, parables, drama are narrated in the community on the theme of social justice?
6. In the family structure, what practices show an authoritarian aspect? What practices are more democtratic?
7. How are the true leaders of the community made known?

V. *Description of the effects of technical changes*

1. Technical changes that affect the distribution of incomes can create conflict in:
   a. Those who do not have access to the technology because of institutional obstacles;
   b. Those who want more participation in the decision-making of their community;
   c. Those who are the present recipients of institutional services and who wish to maintain their control.

In your project, what types of conflicts were brought about by the technical changes introduced? How were the conflicts confronted? Were they solved or are they still present?

2. What local institutions were strengthened by the technology? What institutions were weakened by it? (Please explain why and how)
3. What social groups became more powerful? What social groups became weaker? (Please explain why and how)
4. Are these changes consistent with the nation's overall development strategy? (Please explain why and how)

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY AMONG SMALL FARMERS
June 8—13, 1978
Seoul, Korea

June	8 (Sun.)	7 (Mon.)	8 (Tues.)	9 (Wed.)	10 (Thurs.)	11 (Fri.)	12 (Sat.)	13 (Sun.)
A.M.	Arrival, Registration	Opening Ceremonies → CEI Philosophy and Programs → Workshop Plan Objectives and Concepts	Lecture 1 by Theodor Dams → Small Group Discussion No. 2	Lecture 3 by Jesus Montemayor → Small Group Discussion No. 3	Analysis of Previous Proceedings → Small Group Discussion No. 4	Field Trip	Return to CEI, Seoul	Departure
P.M.		Small Group Discussion No. 1	Plenary Session No. 2	Plenary Session No. 3	Plenary No. 4		Evaluation	
EVE.		Plenary Session No. 1	Lecture 2 by Sr. Kristera Sri Rudati			General Session on: —Field trip experiences —CENDHRRA services and future CIRD workshops —Development Program on Cheju-do Is.	Closing Ceremonies	

EXPLANATORY NOTES ON APPENDIX D

[1]Topic: "Rural Development: Marketing of Agricultural Produce"

[2]Topic: "Basic Processes of Home Economics and Family Well-Being in Rural Areas"

[3]Topic: "Agricultural Extension Strategies to Promote Integrated Rural Development"

APPENDIX E

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APPENDIX F

CIRD-2 CASE STUDY OUTLINE

What are some key issues to be discussed at CIRD Two?

We examine the training of rural development workers (RDWs) in the context of a strategy of rural development that gives the majority of the rural poor access to the economic and social system of their country. This means a commitment to greater participation by local people in their own self-reliant and integral development. It also means tackling a broad set of problems, not just agricultural production but also health and education, marketing and income distribution. It can be viewed as the building up of communities based on a new moral order of development that gives to the powerless effective access to vital resources.

What are the Issues coming from such a View of Development?

Issue No. I.

Processes used to develop self-reliant communities

Designers of rural programs using the self-help approach to rural development base their strategy on a more humanistic and less technological theory of development.

- They see rural development as involving a transformation of the economic, social, political institutions, processes and relationship in a rural society.

- They believe that it is necessary to start a broad educational process to lessen the fatalism, dependency and lack of self-confidence among rural people. people.

- They seek to create greater awareness and participation by villagers and their communities through strengthening local institutions and leaders.

Some Questions

Whether you are a policy maker or a field worker, it would be highly valuable for the other participants to read and listen to your reflections regarding your experiences in promoting self-reliant communities. Experiences are made up of not only a few successes but of many frustrations, unsolved problems, misunderstandings, failures. How can you present your reflections and that of your group regarding this issue so that others may learn from the painful process you went through?

If you are a field worker, some of these questions might help in your reflections:—

1) How do you see your role as a RDW in a project that promotes self-help approaches? How does your view of your role differ from your organization's? From the way you were trained?

2) What, in your rural experience, are the main obstacles to bringing about self-reliance in communities and in groups you have worked with? What are the main processes which you or your organization decided to try in order to increase the self-help capabilities of the community?

3) Do rural people go into a process of development through and in partnership with the work you initiated? Are they also able (in what ways) to bring about change independent of your efforts?

4) Do the processes you have started have effects (what kinds) on the local political and economic institutions? Do the people themselves desire such changes to be made in these institutions?

Issue No. II

How to bring developmental benefits to the poorest of the rural poor

In agriculture, the strategy of depending on "progressive farmers" for increased productivity has gained some successes. But it left behind millions of small farmers, tenants and landless laborers. Working chiefly with the most responsive and better educated farmers will not solve rural poverty. Rather than "build on the best," we must now "build on the rest."

This means that rural development efforts must include members of rural society who are not directly benefited by new technological inputs, such as subsistence farmers, small merchants, local craftsmen, sharecroppers and tenants, women and youth.

Some Questions

Projects are safeguarded from becoming additional means for enriching the already richer farmers if field workers go about the identification of needs based on an integral view of the community and not on a piecemeal knowledge of the rural scene. This calls for a method of socio-economic survey that will lead to the following:

1) a better understanding of how peasants view the problems which affect them;

2) a deeper respect for the structures, customs and habits, traditional values and capacity to change of the rural community;

3) a better integration of RDWs into the villages.

Much light on this matter can come from those involved in training RDWs: — What are your reflections on the training given to equip RDWs who can adequately *analyze* social and political structures as well as identify the causes preventing socio-economic development of the rural poor?

If you are a field worker, you most likely experienced situations where projects were geared to make the rich, richer and the poor poorer. What processes in your experience can be realistically introduced to prevent this? How did you first become aware of the

structural reality of rural life? How did you acquire data to understand and overcome the constraints imposed on small farmers by the local power structure? What steps did your organization take to focus its programs so that the poorest groups may receive the benefits of your efforts?

Issue No. III.

What are the processes by which villagers take on skills and knowledge?

Self-reliant development will proceed towards reality if the outside RDW is able to transfer his skills, knowledge and attitudes to the villagers themselves. In this way, paternalism and dependency are avoided. There is no dominance on the part of the outside agent. Instead, an authentic teamwork develops wherein outsiders systematically prepare local counterparts to assume leadership at the earliest practical time.

This approach makes the following demands of the outsider RDW:

1) Great flexibility in becoming aware of and adapting to local needs; in selecting what to teach and how to teach it; in combining analysis and practice.

2) Freedom to adapt to the convenience of the villagers; for example, by scheduling part-time training fitted to their workday and family obligations; by designing learning materials suited to their pace and level.

3) Ability to use local talents, facilities and support and in the process generating a sense of community participation and self-reliance.

Some Questions

Reflective discussions on this issue will most likely be of interest to policy makers of training institutes as they listen to the way by which RDWs recruit and train local counterparts to carry on their work.

Possible lines of reflection can focus on how training institutes can provide follow-up services to update the learning of their graduates. How research efforts can be designed to ensure that findings provide guidance and direction for training programs. How to increase the flow of information and working cooperation among training institutions.

The *field workers* will give information and catalyze reflections of great value to other participants if they share their views, methods and experiences on training villagers to take over their responsibilities. What training helped them the most in becoming in turn trainors for villagers? What processes have they tried for transferring agricultural knowledge and skills to small farmers? For transferring leadership and responsibility to the village community? For transferring humanizing development attitudes and values to rural men and women?

CIRDZ ON EDUCATION AND TRAINING
OF RURAL CHANGE AGENTS
November 7-14, 1976
Indonesia

November	7 (Sun.)	8 (Mon.)	9 (Tues.)	10 (Wed.)	11 (Thurs.)	12 (Fri.)	13 (Sat.)	14 (Sat.)
A.M.	Arrival, Registration ↓	Opening Ceremonies ↓ Workshop Goals Programs and Processes ↓	Small Group Discussion No. 2 ↓	Small Group Discussion No. 3 ↓	Field Trip ↓	Presentation of Reflections by Panel ↓ Open Forum ↓	Summary of Workshop Proceedings ↓ Meeting of National Groups ↓ Plenary and Evaluation Session ↓	Departure ↓
P.M.	↓	Small Group Discussion No. 1 ↓ Plenary Session No. 1 ↓	Plenary Session No. 2 ↓ Description of Individual Projects ↓ Reflections	Plenary Session No. 3 ↓ Description of Individual Projects ↓ Reflections	↓	Small Group Discussion No. 4 ↓ Plenary Session No. 4 ↓ Reflections	↓	↓
EVE.		Description of Individual Projects	Description of Individual Projects	Free		Free	Closing Ceremonies	

APPENDIX H

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